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ABSTRACT

In this report are described some current programs aimed at dropout prevention. The report focuses on programs that appear to be yielding results and that lend themselves to adaptation by other schools. The discussion comprises (1) new approaches to dropout prevention, (2) student motivation projects, (3) work-study projects, (4) schooling for teenage mothers, (5) continuation education, (6) dropout rehabilitation, (7) expanding adult education, and (8) Texarkana's Rapid Learning Centers. (JF)

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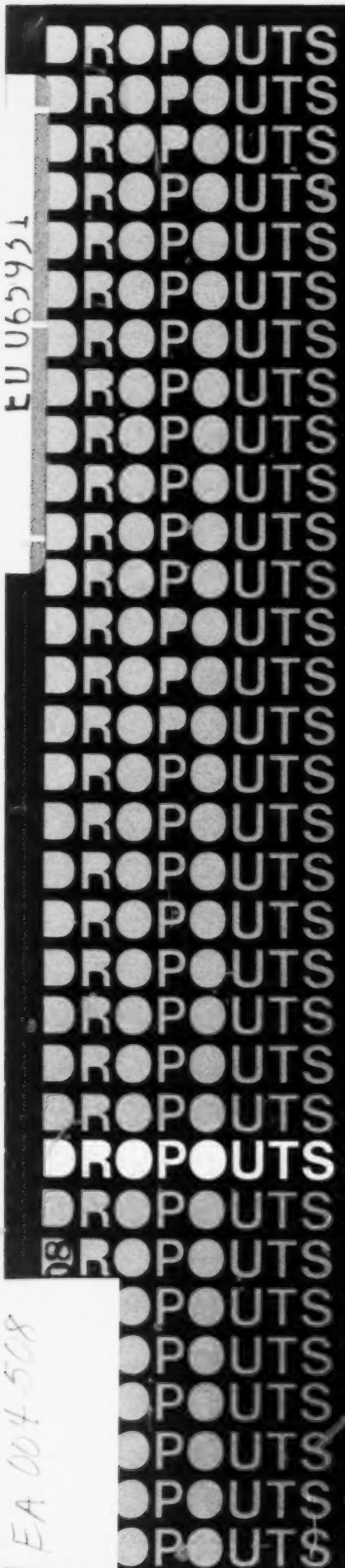

EDUCATION U.S.A.
SPECIAL REPORT

DROPOUTS: Prevention and Rehabilitation

Schools Rescue Potential Failures

A Publication of the
National School Public Relations Association

EA 004 508

This Is an Education U.S.A. Special Report

Education U.S.A., the independent weekly education newsletter founded in 1958, has introduced new dimensions to educational journalism in the United States. In addition to the newsletter, which reports major developments in preschool to graduate level education, the editors of *Education U.S.A.* prepare special in-depth reports on current education issues and problems.

News and interpretive features for the newsletter, based on materials from hundreds of sources, are written by the editors of *Education U.S.A.* and by correspondents in the 50 states. The aim: to keep the busy American educator informed of the important developments in his profession. The *Washington Monitor* section of *Education U.S.A.* is a current report on activities at the U.S. Office of Education, Capitol Hill and other federal agencies that make significant decisions in education.

The special reports are prepared when the editors decide that a new development in education is important enough to be covered in detail. *Dropouts: Prevention and Rehabilitation: Schools Rescue Potential Failures* is the latest report in this series.

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DROPOUTS

OVERVIEW

How do you motivate every youngster to learn? What is it about school that makes one youth stick in class while another "tunes out" and quits? Considerable amounts of energy and study have been poured into these and related questions for many years. Yet the nation's dropout dilemma persists. It is not that answers and solutions are not available. There are a multitude of them to cope with every type of dropout and potential dropout, whether he is a deprived ghetto youth, a Spanish-speaking Chicano or Puerto Rican, a suburban or rural white, or a pregnant teen-ager. And it is not that schools have not tried to apply thoughtful countermeasures, sometimes with striking results.

But high school pupils keep dropping out nonetheless--and at a national rate of about 25%. Only 752 out of each 1,000 pupils who entered fifth grade in 1962 graduated from high school. Authorities say there has been no detectable change in the dropout rate since then and in 1972 they estimate another 800,000 to 1 million youngsters will leave school early, the majority in the 10th and 11th grades. Still another 1 million are listed as "unaccounted for" and remain outside the educational system. Presumably many of them have never attended school.

In view of these numbers and the likelihood that there will be a total of 8 million more dropouts during the 1970 decade, it is perhaps surprising to find the problem of pupil retention slipping below the national political horizon. In the Kennedy and Johnson Administrations and at the start of the Nixon Administration, dropouts were assigned a high priority. But as the controversy over busing and desegregation have taken over the educational spotlight, little has been heard of the dropout. The reason for this is not altogether clear. Comments one USOE official: "We're really not sure of the stance federal offices should take; whether a highly publicized assault on the dropout problem is more detrimental than beneficial." Part of the doubt stems, he says, from a U. of Michigan study by Jerald G. Bachman. It suggests that 12 years of schooling may be less than ideal for everyone.

Dropout prevention programs are costly. While the federal government maintains an appreciable level of funding for

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various dropout prevention and rehabilitation programs, particularly in the field of career training, it has displayed no inclination to expand it drastically. So the burden is on the states, already stretched to their tax limits for education. As a result many states are severely restricted in the number of children they can reach.

A third factor, although not stated publicly, may well be a reluctance on the part of school administrators to reorder their priorities around the disadvantaged or "different" child. Even if money becomes available, the internal restructuring of a school involves many difficult decisions, authorities say, not the least of which are arriving at a desirable program and finding the staff to carry it out. There are underlying considerations of school morale to worry about if it seems more emphasis is being placed on poor learners than on the more successful students.

Despite uncertainty over how to proceed, many leaders in education and the government are pressing for more effort now, especially to assist the deprived inner-city youngster. Braulio Alonso, a former president of the National Education Assn. (NEA), has commented:

"The American dream of creating and building an educational system that will provide an adequate educational opportunity for all is still a dream and far from fruition. For millions of Americans affected by race, color and place of abode, this dream is farther away than ever--it has disappeared in some places.

"Today the high school diploma is practically a necessary certificate for employment. But in our large cities, frustration and despair run high. Here about two-thirds of the unemployed never finished high school; and those who do, because of cultural disorientation, environment and a poor educational opportunity, have an inadequate education."

David Selden, president of the American Federation of Teachers (AFT), views the dropout as the institutionalizing of academic failure and the result of "the insidious influence of the laws of economics on educational theory and tactics."

In testimony before the Senate Select Committee on Equal Educational Opportunity on Oct. 5, 1971, Selden said in reference to inner-city schools that half the children who enter first grade never made it through the 12th, having become somewhere along the line "dropouts, fallouts or pushouts." He added: "The idea that half our children are not worth educating seems monstrous, and yet this is exactly the effect of what we are now doing. In effect, our schools are based upon the concept of the 'marginal child.'

"In economics, the marginal product is that which is barely worth producing. The marginal child is that child, who, in the judgment of our society, is just barely worth the cost of educating. Those who fall below that line--the submarginal ones--are rejected or discarded in exactly the same way submarginal products are thrust out of the market places--except that humans, unlike submarginal automobiles, soap or breakfast foods, do not just disappear. They become a part of our unemployment, welfare, crime and riot statistics."

It is Selden's contention, one shared by many critics, that the educational system is struggling along on only half the money it needs to do the job. There are not enough good teachers, let alone sufficient numbers to reduce pupil-teacher ratios so that all students who need individualized instruction receive it. Sufficient staff, materials and facilities to provide diversity and high quality in education are now available in only a relatively few "rich" schools.

The President's Commission on School Finance, in its March 1972 report, has taken cognizance of the inequality in elementary and secondary education, but the panel could not arrive at a solution to the states' funding crisis. Instead, it urged the states to reform the financial system, by applying innovative approaches and accountability. The report commented:

"It may at first seem cynical to view money spent on schools as an investment on which a return, in economic terms, ought to be earned. The idea evokes the image of children as raw materials and schools as factories for turning out a product of some sort. That sounds inhuman, but it is emphatically not. In fact, one can argue that every effort to plan rational educational systems that does not take into account the return on invested capital is a grave disservice to the public interest."

To save the inner-city schools, however, the commission recommended creation of an Urban Educational Assistance Program which would provide emergency aid on a matching basis over a period of five years. The money would help both public and nonpublic schools in a number of areas, notably in replacement of antiquated facilities, development of experimental and demonstration programs to solve educational problems, and provision for additional remedial, bilingual and special teachers, and other needed staff and materials.

Many of these proposals are in the process of being implemented as part of Pres. Nixon's answer to the curtailment of busing, but without any significant increment in funding.

On the other major issue affecting dropouts--curriculum--the commission strongly recommended the adoption of career education programs. It said they should be "given priority and status at least equal to that now accorded college preparation." The report was critical of the present academic, general, and vocational educational three-track system.

In 1970-71, it said, there were "850,000 school dropouts, many of whom left because they found their school experiences irrelevant, 750,000 who graduated from the general track and did not go on to college, and 850,000 high school graduates who dropped out of college. In total, 2.45 million students left the formal educational system in 1970-71...."

The commission urged elimination of the general track, saying a blend of the best of the academic and vocational tracks "clearly offers highly significant opportunities for improving the quality of education and of the lives of all our young people."

Career training currently is the major thrust of most anti-dropout campaigns in the schools--and particularly of the projects sponsored by the

dropout prevention programs of the U.S. Office of Education (USOE). Most of them emphasize work-study and vocational training as part of highly individualized teaching programs to involve and motivate slow learners. The involvement and introduction of youngsters to the real world of work already has been extremely effective in holding them in school, according to Hyrum Smith, who heads the USOE program.

In an interview with EDUCATION U.S.A., Smith said he believed it is possible to "save" 75% of the dropouts "if you change the school system--you can't keep kids who are dropping out in the same situation. There has to be a change in the program, a structural change and a change of personnel."

By "change" Smith said also he meant a basically different approach from K-12 that "will enable all youngsters to complete some kind of program which will help them get a job and make it out in the world." He said there should be a radical change on the part of school administrators and teachers --in both attitude and practice--to give special attention to the child who needs it. Revamp the entire school, if necessary. Or, as another USOE official put it: "It's time we stopped treating the potential dropout like some kind of weirdo and started educating him."

Smith acknowledged that to effect sweeping changes will be expensive--by his estimate it would take $18 billion additional a year for the nation's 18,076 school districts. "With that amount you can start to make a change," he said. (Currently, state, local and federal spending on elementary and secondary education amounts to $46 billion a year.)

Whatever the cost of reorganizing schools, Smith said it would be "cheap" compared just to the lost earning power of dropouts. He calculates that if 800,000 dropouts were to lose $50,000 apiece over a decade in lower earnings because of inadequate education, the total would come to $40 billion. For 8 million dropouts the total would soar in the same length of time to $400 billion. And this, he said, "does not include the incalculable cost of unemployment, welfare and crime."

There is some disagreement among the experts on precisely how much a dropout is hurt financially over the long run because no definitive studies have been made. Moreover, no statistics are kept on dropouts as to their later educational improvement, either through home study, on the job or in a specialized training school. There is, however, rather general agreement that it is best to keep youngsters in school through high school graduation if at all possible. And, failing that, to lure them into some type of career training so that they can become productive citizens. This Special Report explores the development of these two relatively new interests of public education--dropout prevention and rehabilitation. The report does not encompass all the varied efforts in this area, but focuses instead on the programs which appear to be yielding results and lend themselves to adaptation by other schools.

The number of youngsters presently being helped is relatively small. But the more innovative methods of teaching and reaching failing pupils represent an important breakthrough in understanding how to solve education's most unyielding quandary.

NEW APPROACHES TO DROPOUT PREVENTION

Educators are only too well aware that 16 is the year of the dropout, the age when youngsters in all but 11 states are no longer bound by compulsory school attendance laws. It is the year in which many 10th and 11th graders take their last walk out of the school door--but not necessarily the year they make the decision to leave. To the contrary, extensive research shows that most youths make up their minds, or are disposed to leave, long before the final dramatic act occurs. It is now widely accepted that dropping out, for most boys and girls, is only a visible symptom of something that has gone wrong long before. And it is on this simple fact that new dropout prevention programs are being keyed: early detection of trouble and remedial action to keep the pupil in school.

Authorities urge that diagnosis of potential dropouts be initiated in elementary school. Even in the lowest grades certain telltale signs are apparent:

- Inability to read at grade level.
- Frequent absenteeism.
- Lack of participation in extracurricular activities.
- A rebellious attitude toward teachers.
- Disrupting the classroom.
- Emotional disturbances related to the home environment.
- A pattern of failure in schoolwork.

The signs become clearer as time goes on. The pupil drops back one or two grades. He becomes a loner and then a truant. Some studies show that any pupil who reaches high school one or two grade levels behind his age group and is still a marginal student is almost certain to drop out at age 16, or as soon as he can, just to free himself of the place where he has obviously failed.

How Early Detection Works

Under a program funded by USOE's Dropout Prevention Branch, inner-city schools in Baltimore, Md., have adopted a pupil service team approach to diagnosing problem children and prescribing remedial action. The team consists of a social worker, counselor, community liaison worker and two part-timers: a psychiatrist and a psychologist. If necessary, the team may also bring in the school nurse, a medical doctor and the parents.

The team looks at all aspects of the child--academic, physical and emotional--to determine why he isn't succeeding. It then attempts to pre-

scribe a remedy. This could result in referral of the pupil to a special STAY (Services To Assist Youth) classroom. These classes are limited in size to 10 pupils so the team and the teacher can provide individual counseling, reinforcement and individualized instruction. The objective is to prepare the pupil for a return to his regular classroom or, if recommended by the team and approved by the school principal, to transfer to another school or agency. This diagnostic technique has proved so successful in the demonstration program that it is now being applied citywide in Baltimore schools.

A Student Analysis System for identifying potential dropouts has been in operation in Colorado since 1963. The system employs certain characteristics of each pupil (see sample table) to write an index of his potential for leaving school or graduating from 12th grade while he is in elementary school, usually fourth grade. The data is used to write a diagnosis and prescription for those with problems. Items included in the diagnosis: ability, achievement, reading level, family situation, health, attitudes, emotional outlook, readiness, ability to relate to peers and adults, nutrition, behavior patterns, feeling of self-esteem, identification of special needs and feelings toward school and life.

From this information, a prescription is worked out. And this might include suggestions for intensive individual or small group counseling, encouragement of individual students by teachers, a program for building self-image, work with the home to establish closer parent-school ties, referral to the proper resource, careful class placement or special tutoring. The effectiveness of the prescription is measured again in eighth grade when the analysis form is readministered to those identified as potential dropouts.

From several years' experience, the system has developed a profile indicative of the potential dropout:

- His friends are out of school.
- He has moved around from school to school.
- His scholastic aptitude, reading ability and achievement are low.
- He has been retained.
- He has a disciplinary record.
- He misses school often.
- He is not interested in extracurricular activities.

Home factors also bear heavily on the dropout. The most pertinent ones: if his father is unskilled or semi-skilled; if his mother is not a high school graduate; if communication between home and school is poor; and if his home is relatively unstable. The Colorado experience, borne out in many other studies, shows that home stability and parental interest, encouragement and support are important differences between graduates and dropouts. Parental involvement is a part of several of USOE's demonstration programs, including the one in Baltimore where parents are employed as liaison between the school and home.

The results of programs using parents are sometimes surprising. At the Pine Ridge Indian Reservation schools, Shannon County, S.D., a program has been focused on the parents under the motto: "If adults change, so will children." The results have been highly encouraging (see p. 9).

COMPARISON OF ANSWERS, STUDENT ANALYSIS SYSTEM
Dropouts and Graduates 1968-69
Poudre, Colo., R-1 School District

Item	Answers	Dropout 1968-69	Graduate 1968-69
Are closest friends in school?	In school	51.3%	78.4%
Length of time in district	Three years or more	61.3%	78.9%
	One semester	13.3%	4.6%
Scholastic aptitude	Below average or very low	32.0%	6.7%
Reading ability	Below average or very low	50.7%	11.8%
Achievement level	Below average or very low	68.0%	8.2%
Grade placement	Retained one year	30.7%	6.2%
Disciplinary record	Previous suspension	23.3%	8.2%
Attendance record	Absent 26 or more days	22.7%	0.5%
	Absent 16 to 25 days	30.7%	8.2%
	Absent 0 to 5 days	4.7%	48.5%
Extracurricular activities in school	None	86.0%	24.7%
Activities outside of school	None	86.0%	31.8%
Occupation, head of household	Unskilled	20.7%	1.5%
	Semi-skilled	19.3%	7.7%
	Skilled	21.3%	29.4%
	Managerial, technical, and professional	5.3%	6.2%
Education of mother	High school graduate and beyond	37.3%	81.5%
Communication between home and school	Poor	17.3%	1.5%
	Fair	39.3%	9.3%
	Excellent	2.7%	12.9%
Pupil lives with	Both parents	50.7%	75.3%
	Parent and step-parent	12.7%	5.7%
	Mother or father	16.7%	16.0%
	Self	4.7%	0.5%

Scope of the Federal Programs

Learning how to innovate effective ways of holding youngsters in school is what USOE's dropout prevention programs, which now number 19 in as many communities, is all about. Started in the 1969-70 school year in 10 target school districts, the programs have achieved appreciable results in lowering the dropout rate (see chart), although there have been some setbacks in Baltimore, Seattle, Dayton, and Fall River, Mass. USOE's Hyrum Smith attributes the setbacks in some instances to starting with programs that were too broad, and to a lack of success in some aspects of the programs. In Baltimore, for example, a corrective reading program was instituted on the theory that it alone would enable pupils to stay in school. But the theory proved wrong, Smith said, and the dropout rate wasn't affected. Another feature of the Baltimore project has high school students tutoring elementary school pupils. "This has helped hold down the dropout rate, but the kids are still leaving," Smith says.

By the end of the five-year demonstration period, Smith hopes to show many more successful results. He said he and others involved in creating the programs have learned that it takes about two years to develop a program and get it operational. That much time is required to find the right teachers and other personnel and "do the necessary experimentation to discover what is needed for the pupils."

The scope of the programs is far-ranging and weighted toward introducing youngsters to the world of work. Smith gives this summary of objectives in the initial 10 programs:

Objective: Involvement of Private Industry

The Dade County Talent Development Program, Miami, Fla., involves a work-experience program using business and industrial resources such as local meat-packing firms, landscaping firms, office machine firms. International Business Machines (IBM) is working with the project in providing students with communication skills. Hialeah General Hospital is training attendants and hospital workers.

Project STAY in St. Louis has work-study programs with McGraw-Hill, Sinclair Oil, Famous Barr Department Store and several local hospitals. Bell Telephone provides students with work-study skills. They receive promotion and wage increases as school progress and skills development are shown.

In Project KAPS (Keeping All Pupils in School) in Baltimore, the C & P Telephone Co. and local hospitals are participating to help students learn communication skills and receive hospital training.

Objective: Reform and Renewal of School Structure

Each of the 10 USOE-funded projects is working toward elimination of unproductive instructional programs, of outmoded curricula and of facilities which do not yield sought-after objectives.

COMPARISON OF DROPOUT RATES IN 10 TARGET SCHOOLS

USOE Dropout Prevention Program

PROJECT	Number of Students Who Dropped Out Of the Target Schools			Dropout Rate of Target Schools			Enrollment of Target Schools (7 - 12)		
	1967-68*	1969-70	1970-71	1967-68*	1969-70	1970-71	1967-68*	1969-70	1970-71
Shannon County, S.D.	130	116	41	28.5%	25.5%	9.0%	769	899	959
Baltimore, Md.	514	340	356	21.9%	14.1%	15.2%	4,083	4,216	3,018
Seattle, Wash.	305	163	231	28.5%	15.2%	21.5%	1,362	1,421	1,932
St. Louis, Mo.	581	301	232	20.1%	10.5%	8.1%	3,843	3,526	3,672
Dayton, Ohio	380	218	260	19.6%	11.2%	13.3%	2,407	3,084	3,199
Fall River, Mass.	469	255	376	13.7%	7.5%	11.2%	5,216	5,967	4,335
Chautauqua, N.Y.	129	138	120	3.6%	3.9%	3.4%	5,430	5,730	5,003
Miami, Fla.	344	428	280	11.7%	14.6%	9.5%	4,832	3,589	4,243
Paducah, Ky.	166	141	141	4.8%	4.2%	4.2%	4,526	3,042	4,691
Texarkana, Ark.	383	262	141	8.1%	5.5%	3.0%	7,478	7,140	6,909

*Base year, before program started

Source: Dropout Prevention Programs Branch, U.S. Office of Education

Project EMERGE in Dayton, Ohio, for instance, has a work-study component in which students receive a stipend for working at a part-time job away from the regular school, in hospitals, food services, etc.

In Seattle, a newly organized Personal Development Academy will provide individualized instruction for students with special problems.

Fall River, Mass., has instituted an experimental science program, an IPI (Individually Prescribed Instruction) math program and a specially adapted English program to meet the needs of children in that city.

St. Louis provides coordinated after-school activities. Some teachers in the St. Louis project provide academic instruction on location at the industrial establishments which involve students in work-study programs.

Miami has an "engineered classroom" to assist potential dropouts to adjust to regular classes.

Baltimore gives home instruction and counseling for sick, retarded or pregnant students.

The Texarkana project has brought school systems in Texas and in Arkansas together to form integrated instructional centers to upgrade reading and math capabilities of students.

Objective: Motivating Students Through Rewards

In Baltimore, an "earn-learn" component in elementary schools allows students to perform tasks for which they can earn points. Pupils will be able to trade points for school supplies, games and toys, and trips.

Students who are successful in the Texarkana project receive coupons to redeem for merchandise. Students who complete two grade levels of achievement will receive transistor radios.

In Baltimore, older students contract with teachers for something they would like to do in exchange for achieving study objectives.

Objective: Relaxing Traditions Which Inhibit Programs

Similarly, in Chautauqua, N.Y., clubs have been developed around motivational interests of students identified as high potential dropouts.

Batesland, S.D., uses teacher aides to assist Indian students in appreciation of their culture.

New patterns of teacher preparation will emerge, necessitating changes on the part of colleges and universities in preparing school staff. For example, in Dayton, Ohio, college students with inner-city backgrounds have been hired to assist younger students to stay in school. Technical assistance is provided through a Dayton-Miami Valley Consortium of colleges.

In Florida, the conventional 50-minute classroom "hour" has been made flexible to permit varying amounts of time to be spent on different subjects according to the individual student's need.

The 9:00 a.m. to 3:00 p.m. daily schedule has been discarded for students with special problems in St. Louis. This permits night classes, special care centers, schools for pregnant girls, etc.

Objective: Preparing Students for Job Education

In St. Louis, one unit of the work-study component involved students in house and apartment renovation to provide them with skills useful in construction work. Many of the businesses and industries cooperating with the dropout prevention projects are providing skills which will permit students to enter later these organizations as fully qualified workers.

Dade County provides concentrated training on job decorum, positive work attitudes, proper dress and the importance of being competent in a vocation.

Seattle, St. Louis, Dayton, Fall River, Baltimore, New York City and Paducah, Ky., have intensive counseling and pupil personnel services to better prepare the students for entry into careers and vocations.

Objective: Insuring Student Mastery of Curriculum Skills

Chautauqua will develop life-oriented curriculum learning centers to assess student difficulties, motivate the child and provide remedial training as needed. Special group sessions for alienated students will be tried.

The Texarkana project has sought to raise the reading and math levels of students in Rapid Learning Centers.

In Baltimore, secondary tutors are paid to help in raising the achievement levels of younger students.

Paducah established an "intensive unit program" to provide specialized learning techniques for high potential dropouts.

Miami provides a self-instructional center coupled with part-time work.

Seattle restructured several schools to provide improved curriculum approaches. Small groups work with teachers in designing new approaches to learning. Skills and knowledge to be taught are organized around student interest.

Objective: Insuring Quality and Responsible Teaching

At least two prime causes of student dropouts relate to the teaching ability of staff and to outmoded instructional procedures, both of which force a student to conform to patterns which he is unable to accept.

In Paducah, teachers are involved in an "extensive training program" to improve their attitudes toward disadvantaged youth and to help them in developing improved self-concepts.

In Baltimore, a private Institute of Behavioral Research conducts intensive staff training for elementary teachers.

In South Dakota, teachers are trained to serve as resource agents to provide better instruction. In Chautauqua, the staff is trained to develop team team concepts in improving curriculum.

Objective: Accountability for Results

Strict concepts of accountability for attainment of stated educational objectives have been accepted by each of the projects for which a grant award has been made. Toward this end, each project has used a portion of its award to secure needed technical assistance not available in the school system. Such assistance has been provided by outside consultants, such as Booz, Allen and Associates; Educational Testing Service; regional education laboratories and universities. They have provided aid in assessing school needs, developing specific performance objectives, improving school management, producing evaluation designs.

In Dayton, an EMERGE Council and a Dropout Prevention Review Board will bring parents and community groups into closer partnership with the school in planning programs and insuring that results will be achieved.

Other USOE projects include:

Tuskegee, Ala.: Comprehensive involvement of the parents of dropout-prone students in the total education process. Twenty-four such parents will act as counselor-aides to other parents to see that their children attend school and that the parents become involved in school functions. Total pupils affected: 250, grade 9.

Hartford, Conn.: Educational programs that are responsive to each student's needs, capabilities, interests and learning styles. Total pupils affected: 1,109, grades 9-12.

Fort Logan, Colo.: Attempting to reach and provide relevant experiences for potential dropouts and students who have already dropped out through an Outreach Center, individualized instruction and student involvement in curriculum planning.

Philadelphia: A pilot work-study program for potential dropouts will be tested and then expanded to include all high school students. The project includes a work stipend and career development.

Detroit: Performance contracts to upgrade the math and reading levels of 450 potential dropouts in grades 10-12, plus a mix of supporting services ranging from work opportunities to medical assistance.

Oakland, Calif.: Involvement of the business community in the school program of McClymonds High School--and involvement of the community in the administration of the school. All students will participate in the comprehensive program covering instruction, student personnel services, community services and management. Total pupils affected: 870 in grades 10-12.

Trenton, N.J.: An "early warning system" will be implemented to diagnose and prescribe for potential dropouts. Other activities: an "outreach counseling service" to extend school, community and home communication; an expanded "special pregnancy education class"; team teaching, emphasizing individualized instruction; a schools-within-school reorganization; incentive grants for teacher/student-initiated projects; and dropout detection and prevention programs for elementary and junior high schools.

Minneapolis: A career exploration, education, and student and family support program will seek to keep dropout-prone pupils in school until they obtain a regular high school diploma, GED certificate or are admitted to an accredited institution for advanced educational or vocational training. A total of 240 students will be primary recipients of the program, but all students in the schools (2,537) will benefit.

Riverton, Wyo.: Creation of a continuous non-failure learning program for pupils in schools located on the Arapaho Indian Reservation. Curriculum changes will include work-study, pre-vocational career training, team training of teachers to diagnose and overcome student learning difficulties. Total pupils affected: 2,600; grades 1-12.

DISCOVERING PUPIL MOTIVATION

• Warmth • Kindness • Imagination

These are the qualities, along with the changing of regular school rules, that are opening new ways of motivating potential dropouts. More than ever teachers are being asked to reach within themselves to innovate and find new connections to the minds of turned-off youths. They are doing it--and sometimes to their surprise--by letting their pupils show them how.

Some models:

Burlington's ASPIRE

Students dream up their own projects and then make a contract with the teacher to complete them. This is one of the novel features of the Burlington, Vt., High School ASPIRE (A Student Planned Innovative Research project) for uninspired 10th graders. Admission to the program is voluntary but, once accepted, students must agree to complete the course and fulfill its requirements. These include a week of group discussion, followed by immersion in their own special projects, such as photography, reading, ceramics. Projects are related to the regular high school curriculum and a student may select a "mass science" class or an American studies course with his special studies. Program leaders say after the student completes the program he has no trouble reentering regular classes since the school now offers varied math, English and science courses spanning all grades.

Several faculty members and administrators participate in the planning and evaluation of ASPIRE, but only two teachers are assigned full time. They encourage students with their friendliness and provide an atmosphere conducive to self-evaluation with teachers on a first-name basis. ASPIRE enrollees spend all their school time as a group apart from other students. The headquarters is a large L-shaped room in the center of the school. Students plan and support the "curriculum," which may consist of an idea to focus on some aspect of the communications media and its techniques. Teachers may provide the idea, but its acceptance and the development of projects to carry it out belong to the students.

The contract system was developed to bring some structure to the program. To gain credit, students agree to complete certain activities for points. The quality of the work produced affects the amount of points received--a total of 1,600 is needed.

Rather than simply going its own way, ASPIRE has had a catalytic effect on all 1,700 pupils in the school, authorities report. It has influenced

a thorough revision of the English curriculum, which is now entirely nongraded and offers a range of electives. The school also has adopted an ASPIRE-created American studies course and an "Our World Today" course, employing a humanistic team-teaching approach. ASPIRE has been supported by $31,000 from Title III, Elementary and Secondary Education Act (ESEA), plus $17,000 in annual nonfederal support.

Buena Park's Multimedia Program

Motivation by media is the central device of Buena Park (Calif.) High School's Title I program for 9th-, 10th-, and 11th-grade potential dropouts. Instructors have incorporated various audiovisual aids at a series of learning stations. Each station is clearly labeled and provided with a prescribed learning task. Students, at specified times, are then allowed to work at the station of their choice until they complete their assignment. Work speed is up to the student, allowing him to progress as his own motivation dictates. Problem solving at each learning station involves such aids as pictures, tape recordings, record players, filmstrip viewers. Also employed at various times are overhead projectors, television, radio, games, paperbacks, encyclopedias, programmed instruction, news media, typewriters.

The reaction of the students has been "beyond expectation," teachers reported. They noted an "almost existential" atmosphere emerging as students realized they could progress at their own rate and could select and respond in their own fashion to the media provided. Students are rated on the basis of how well each task is done, not on the number of projects completed. Instructors credit the program with helping to retain students. "Instruction, to be effective, must not only be of interest to the student but must also involve him in a relevant manner," one of the instructors said. "A use of various media within the concept of progressive learning stations offers one solution to fulfilling these needs."

Cleveland's 'Transition' Classes

One out of every three youngsters entering seventh grade in Cleveland's poverty area schools is a potential dropout. To help these students bridge the gap between elementary school and the more departmentalized and independent programs of junior high, the city has set up 54 "transition classes" in 13 schools. The classes are small (about 25 pupils) and self-contained, without the traditional curriculum or texts. Boys and girls are separated and the objective is to make classwork relevant to their outside lives.

Most of the children are two to four years behind in reading and in math. They have histories of poor classroom behavior, tardiness and truancy; appear socially immature; and are over-age for grade placement. They are told at the onset of "transition class" that they are there because their work is not at grade level and this is to help them catch up.

Mrs. Dorothy Douglass, manager of the program, says "the classes are totally self-contained for four periods, or half the school day. The children don't switch rooms, but some of the teachers do. Generally, these pupils

have one teacher for almost everything. Special teachers come in for science and math, but all the planning is done on a team basis. In place of regular textbooks, the staff has developed special materials, including newspapers and telephone directories. Food ads, for example, become the basis for realistic math exercises and consumer economics lessons. News stories about urban renewal are read and analyzed. The city of Cleveland, its laws and their enforcement, is a study unit. All classes have at least one aide, usually a neighborhood resident able to relate to and involve the pupils' parents in home visits. The aides make a practice of "happening by" the homes of truant types in the morning and walking them to school. Funded under Title I, ESEA, Mrs. Douglass said preliminary evaluations show the classes bring considerable improvement in achievement and attitude. This is attributed as much to closer home rapport as it is to revised teaching methods and increased individual attention in class.

South Carolina's 'Succeed'

South Carolina plans to expand its "Project Succeed" in the 1972-73 school year to 175 schools with 15,000 secondary students participating in a program tailored to their individual abilities, needs, interests and aptitudes. The program, started in September 1970 with 420 students, in 10 pilot schools, provides a curriculum that is intended to be more meaningful for those whom success has eluded. It includes vocational "exploration" in grades 9-10 that leads to vocational "specialization" in grades 11-12.

School authorities say the curriculum components embrace communication, computation, personal knowledge, human relations and the environment, plus electives. The major objective is to give the student instruction and materials that will enable him to graduate in four years "armed with the skills and knowledge for job entry or for additional vocational or technical education." Grades are deemphasized and the project's philosophy is based on insuring success through small learning increments. "As a student experiences success through achievement--and receives good grades for his accomplishment--he is motivated to see good grades through greater interest and effort," according to Henry G. Hollingsworth, director of the office of adjunct education.

However, an analysis of grades of 4,700 students participating in the second year of the project shows 16.3% received D's compared to 10.3% in the first year, and 4.1% had F's against 2.1% the first year. Hollingsworth said the analysis also disclosed that "students enrolled in prevocational and physical education were not as successful as students enrolled in the other (academic) subject areas." He said "adjustments will be attempted" through revision of instructional materials and summer workshops to improve teaching techniques. South Carolina plans to implement "Project Succeed" in all secondary schools in 1973-74.

Shannon County: 'Changing' the Parents

Sioux children on the Pine Ridge Indian Reservation, Shannon, S.D., for years have had one of the highest dropout rates in the nation. Surveys in

the late 1960s showed the youngsters quitting before high school graduation at the rate of 80%, with the median number of years of schooling for the entire reservation only 8.7. One school official attributes this to "stagnation" in the schools run by the Bureau of Indian Affairs (BIA). The school have been unable to cope with language and cultural barriers or to present incentives for learning, he said.

To reverse this ingrained condition, a USOE-sponsored dropout prevention program set forth in a new direction in 1969 to change everyone connected with the school system--teachers, students and, above all, the parents. Its philosophy is expressed in a motto: "If Adults Change, So Will Children."

Seminars have been used to involve adults in the education of their children by making them aware not only of curriculum, teachers and administrators but also funding and overall educational policy. The ultimate objective is to have the parents take over control of the school board, something they have been denied until now, and run the schools themselves.

In the past two years more than 250 parents have taken part in the seminars (25 at a time) to review existing policies and participate in setting up new action organizations. The latter include curriculum committees, an individualized learning center, a math-science pod, boys' club, Lakota Indian culture center and new industry that will employ students. An inservice teacher training program concentrates on making teachers more sensitive to Indian needs. In another program, teachers visit students' homes to meet the parents and improve teacher-parent relationships. School staff members are receiving training in school management and classroom management. A new effort to develop effective student government is aimed at inspiring children to stay in school.

In an interim report, internal evaluators say the dropout rate for the target schools has declined to an average of 14% a year. The report comments that "although the two years of Title VIII operations have almost doubled the number of students who would graduate in a four-year period, the dropout rate is still high."

Nonetheless, school officials feel they are making headway, particularly with the parents. However, BIA ordered a 5% cutback in school funds for the Pine Ridge reservation. The parents launched a counterattack, in which they met in emergency sessions and deluged their congressmen with letters and telegrams; the school board passed resolutions opposing the action; and students sent letters to influential leaders around the country. The result: BIA relented and the threatened cutback was withdrawn.

"I'd call that progress," says a Shannon official.

WORK-STUDY—HOW EFFECTIVE?

"I want to get a job," or "I have to go to work to help support the family." This is one of the most common reasons given by students, particularly boys, for leaving school early. As often as not, authorities say, these reasons are just a cover-up, the offering of valid sounding excuses to screen the actual cause, which is usually rooted in academic failure. On the other hand, it is apparent that impatience with academic studies is a natural condition of today's youth; the impulse is strong to go out into the real world and become self-sufficient. It is difficult for many young people to perceive a payoff in completing traditional high school courses in terms of useful things learned that will help them later on in life. To them school is a "drag" even though they know very little about work and how to obtain a job.

Educators now recognize that "being relevant"--offering programs such as work-study that will guide a student successfully into the job market--is essential to a school's holding power. It is especially crucial for inner-city schools where the dropout rates are highest.

In his book, America's Problem Youth, C. E. Smith of West Virginia U. has observed that "the most important outcome of any educational program today is the development of skills and attitudes necessary to continue adapting to and accommodating to change." He believes it is against this goal that all job training programs should be measured. While Smith was referring to adult training programs, his standard also is applicable to secondary school work-study programs. Accordingly, the establishment of programs where part-time jobs are created in the community just to keep students occupied should be avoided, authorities say. Rather, the work should be meaningful and looked upon as a device to motivate the student to learn more, to build his self-esteem and widen his horizon.

Something of a model in this respect is a Balitmore project in which 30 inner-city 12th graders from Dunbar High School are working for the telephone company at real jobs. "I'd say the main determinant in the success of this particular program," says Earl R. Jones, acting project director of the USOE-sponsored KAPS dropout prevention project, "is that the students are treated just like any other employe. They have to meet the same standards and are rewarded accordingly. The students know this and they respond to the challenge."

In the two years of operation, Jones said, there have been "only a few" dropouts from the program. Many have gone on to permanent jobs with the company; others have decided to get more training or go on to college.

Interestingly enough, nearly all were "bad" students, weak in both math and reading ability. The chief criteria for admission to the program is economic need; students who are also parents or have other financial responsibilities receive first call. Jones said the company keeps close track of the students, who spend part of their day in classes conducted by a Dunbar teacher. "Where the students need help academically, the company expects us to do something about it," he said. He cited as an example a girl who was working on directory assistance and had a poor vocabulary. She had difficulty looking up names. But the telephone company kept her at the job, allowing her time to correct her deficiency in class.

Much the same approach is being tried in another USOE-sponsored program at St. Louis' Soldan High School, which is also located in a slum neighborhood. Twenty students are bused each day to a publishing company where they learn to be clerks and typists in an office atmosphere and meet and learn from working people. A teacher accompanies them to conduct classes and they also receive instruction from company employes. In this project, officials said, it was decided to move the students out to a work place because it was thought they were discouraged by their school surroundings. However, they do return for after-school activities.

In another work-study program, 10 Soldan students are learning medical procedures at a large hospital in St. Louis County. The students must arrive at Soldan at 7:15 a.m. for a 45-minute bus ride to be at work at eight. They stay on the job for four hours and then return to school for afternoon classes. "Now they're putting in a longer day than before, when we couldn't even get them to come to school," commented one of the program's coordinators. There are several other hospital work contingents involving about 60 students. School officials report only one dropout in the two years the program has been in effect.

There are many problems associated with instituting work-study programs --a major one is to find companies willing to cooperate. The economic slowdown sharply curtailed many programs in the past few years because jobs were going to adults. Where part-time work is available in many communities, it tends to be menial, such as food service or stock-clerking, and not very rewarding, either financially or as a stepping-stone to something better. Thus, authorities recommend that schools establish a close relationship with a large employer who can create a program within his company as a standard, on-going part of his community relations commitment.

Students who have been disciplinary problems or who have no conception of what is expected of them need thorough preparation in the form of social adjustment and behavior modification. In one instance, USOE officials report, inner-city students stole equipment from a company in Seattle where they were assigned to work. The company promptly dropped the project.

Delaware's State Dept. of Public Instruction has tackled this problem in its "co-op education" program, in which a dropout-prone student is allowed to spend half his time at work and half in class. Students are drilled in "employability skills"--dress, grooming, hygiene, attendance, safety and following directions by their teacher-supervisor. Typically, students work an average of 20-30 hours per week in garages, nursing homes, farms, con-

Pupil Payoffs?

The concept of paying ghetto students just to learn--as a reward for scholastic achievement--has been advanced by Stewart Cohen, assistant professor of educational psychology at the U. of Illinois at Urbana. He argues that the middle- and upper-class child enters school knowing that if he accepts and meets academic goals he will be rewarded by his parents as he has been for past good behavior. To motivate deprived children, who lack similar support at home, he suggests a token cash payment as an incentive for them to achieve.

On the question of whether such an idea is economically feasible, Cohen says it must be weighed against the cost of the "consequences of human failure" and perpetuation of the welfare-poverty cycle by uneducated youth.

struction firms, supermarkets and stores. Authorities say all employers must guarantee not to exploit the student and see that he receives close, instructive supervision. Once placed, students are checked regularly by the teacher at the work place. Employers rate the student in several categories and specify where improvement is needed.

Presently, some 2,300 students are taking part in co-op programs throughout Delaware, and officials credit them with substantially reducing the dropout rate. Comments one program official: "Most students change their attitudes toward school. Once they sense the difficulties of adult life, they prefer to stay in school while they can, and particularly after they meet people at work who are dropouts themselves." As part of the program, school districts have broadened their curriculum to create special courses to fit the job interests of students. English teachers find reading materials that deal with work and train students in communications skills needed to pass a job interview. Math lessons may involve real tasks, like measuring a carburetor opening or computing invoices.

Not all work-study has to be performed in a business place. Junior and senior high students in Baltimore's KAPS project are hired at $2 an hour to tutor elementary school pupils. This "earn and learn" work, says Earl Jones, builds self-esteem in the tutor and also provides a model for the tutee. While it has not reduced the over-all dropout rate, Jones says the dropout rate among the tutors has fallen to less than 1%.

In sum, it takes considerable ingenuity to create a school work-study program that is effective not only when jobs are in short supply but also where state laws prohibit youths under 18 working at certain tasks. The latter factor may account for the fact that work-study has now become more the province of dropout rehabilitation than prevention (see p. 37).

SCHOOLING FOR TEEN-AGE MOTHERS

Perhaps the most neglected person in all dropout prevention and rehabilitation programs is the pregnant girl, married or unmarried. Although some educators, notably those in larger cities, have in recent years adopted enlightened programs to serve the pregnant student, the policy of the great majority of schools is still to exclude the girl as soon as her condition is known or shows. She becomes a pushout, not a dropout.

Nationally, over 210,000 school-age girls give birth each year and only about 40,000 of them live in communities where continuing education, health and social services are made available. The remaining 170,000 are ostracized to their homes; most of them never return to their formal education and many have more babies while still in their teens.

Pregnancy is the single largest cause of girls leaving school, and what troubles authorities studying the problem is the fact that the girls are being penalized at great cost to themselves and to society. Research by the Consortium on Early Childbearing and Childrearing, Washington, D.C., shows that of the 210,000 school-age mothers, only about 15% place their child for adoption. The rest keep them. Eighty-five per cent are thus starting a family at a very young age.

Marion Howard, former director of the consortium, says "the results are often tragic; high incidences of low birth weight, prematurely born babies; repeated rapid childbearing, with health consequences for both mother and child; school dropouts with no marketable skills; forced early marriages which end in divorce and also contribute to welfare dependency; high rates of attempted suicide."

Consortium studies reveal that 60% of the girls are married by the time the child is born and 40% remain unmarried. No more than 5% are served by maternity homes. The racial breakdown of school-age mothers nationally is 60% white and 40% black and other minority groups. Of the under age 16 group, however, roughly 60% are members of minority groups and 40% are white.

That exclusionary policies are harmful, not to mention illogical, because they deprive those who need an education most, is self-evident, authorities say. Yet the policies of many schools claim that allowing pregnant girls to remain in class jeopardizes their health and makes them open to "cruel and unkind" treatment by fellow students. The Atlanta Adolescent Pregnancy Program (AAPP), a research project in Atlanta schools, disagrees. It found that classmates are supportive toward pregnant students allowed to attend regular classes. The "cruel and unkind" thing to do, it says, is to

expel these girls. In a 1969-70 progress report, AAPP also points out that no one claims a pregnant housewife is "too delicate" to do her housework and care for her children, so why should there be any worries about a pregnant teen-ager carrying books and attending classes. The report adds:

"In general, the underlying belief which dictates expulsion from school is that the pregnant school girl is a 'bad girl,' pregnancy being a clear indication that she has had coitus at least once. The AAPP findings, however, indicate that the pregnant school girls are not promiscuous, have usually just begun sexual intercourse and cannot be differentiated by psychological testing or by any other means from students who are not pregnant."

Daniel Schreiber, staff superintendent of junior high schools in Brooklyn, N.Y., ascribes exclusionary policies to "puritanism, conscious or unconscious, intended to shield the school population from the sexual facts of life, although these facts are presented openly in the newspapers, television and other mass media." He believes there is an implicit desire to punish the girl who has transgressed, like Hester Prynne in the Scarlet Letter, to keep her classmates from following in her footsteps. "On close examination this is ridiculous, since her classmates, sensitive to her distress and her added responsibilities, would no doubt more firmly resolve to avoid that pitfall. No girl ever got another girl pregnant."

Supporting this view, the Atlanta research group reported that its demonstration project resulted in a reduction of the school's overall pregnancy rate when expectant girls were permitted to attend regular classes.

As for the young mothers, Marion Howard says studies indicate that they want to continue their education. "Demonstration programs (in Atlanta and at the Webster School, Washington, D.C.) have already shown that girls can and will attend school during pregnancy (either in special classes or in regular schools, if appropriate). When opportunities to continue education during pregnancy are provided on a classroom basis, the girls often study harder and improve their grades. Further, the rate of return to school is high (85% to 95%), resulting in increased numbers of high school graduates and reduced welfare dependency. One follow-up study indicated that there were twice as many graduates among those who had been given an opportunity to continue their education during pregnancy as compared with those who had not."

Conversely, research indicates that "homebound" education--bringing a teacher to the girl in her home for a few hours a week--is not very effective. This method of instruction is reported to be inefficient, reaching too few girls. Authorities say the students tend to lose interest in their work because they lack the stimulation and social contact of the classroom, and it cannot be considered equivalent education.

Of the 150 communities which so far have set up interagency efforts to provide comprehensive services to pregnant teen-agers, only a few have solved the problem of providing the services to all who need it. Baltimore and San Francisco are organized to serve all pregnant girls on a classroom basis. Baltimore has established special junior and senior high schools under its program for teen-age mothers, offering regular courses plus medi-

cal assistance and counseling on personal problems to about 1,400 girls a year. San Francisco has opened up classrooms in hospitals and community centers to serve about 600 girls a year. Again, educational courses are tied in with health and social services.

Philadelphia has a program in which the girls stay in their regular schools until about the seventh month of pregnancy. They are then transferred to special centers where they also receive health counseling and education services. Comprehensive services are available in 66 of California's continuation schools.

New York City records in excess of 20,000 births a year to girls under 19, half of them out of wedlock. New York City's Schreiber concedes that the program is still falling short of providing comprehensive services for all the girls. Until 1968 the city had an exclusionary policy which was reversed only after the New York City Board of Education finally realized the largest number of the girls being dropped from school were from the lower socioeconomic level and were mostly black or Puerto Rican. The policy was only contributing to the city's ever costlier welfare-poverty cycle.

Using funds under Title I of ESEA, New York City has opened six special centers. The goals of these centers are:

- To improve school attendance by grouping the girls according to grade level in small classes and giving them individual instruction.
- To give them health instruction and introduce them to medical and social welfare facilities.
- To assist them in becoming parents and homemakers.
- To help them continue their education after the birth of the baby.
- To assist them in the job market by developing such salable skills as typing and business machine operation.

The centers are small, having only six teachers each, and serve only 500 of the city's teen-age mothers. The remainder of the girls now attend regular schools. However, for most of them there are no special health and counseling services. A survey of 17,000 school systems in 1970 found that less than one-third--only 5,450--made any provisions for continuing education for pregnant students although, in many cases, state funds were available for that purpose. According to Miss Howard, many of the programs that were of fered served only a few girls and most of these in home-bound study.

Nonetheless, some programs have been launched that show what can be done even by smaller school systems when there is a genuine commitment on the part of the community. NEA cites the approach of the Pasadena (Calif.) Unified School District. Pregnant students are allowed to remain in school until their condition becomes obvious. Then those girls whose doctors recommend they not attend regular classes are given home-bound instruction. The rest attend the Teen Mothers Program at Pasadena's Continuation High School.

The second group can carry five subjects and finish the school year with full credits. The girls are released from academic class for one period two days a week to attend an exercise and lecture class. Pregnant girls go in one group and those who are mothers in another to take carefully selected

exercises. The lecture period may be devoted to a demonstration on bathing a baby or sterilizing bottles or, perhaps, to a film on the development of the embryo.

Other communities have developed a multidisciplinary approach that attempts to meet the girls' educational, health and social needs. Some focus primarily on health, others on social services, but most concentrate on education. Of the 150 communities which have programs, all provide continuing education in a classroom, early and consistent prenatal care and counseling about problems which may have led to or been caused by the pregnancy.

Involving the young putative father is an idea endorsed by experts at many schools. More than likely, they say, he is usually a boyfriend of long standing whom the girl is still seeing and may end up marrying. They say he may need counseling about his problems as much as the girl. At Detroit's Continuing Education Program for Girls it was found that the fathers welcomed advice from a counselor on further schooling, getting a job and on marital and family problems.

But whatever the program, the experts agree they are treating the end result rather than the cause of the problem. Just how many school girls become pregnant each year is unknown, but obviously far greater than the number who bear children. Marion Howard says the girls who do become mothers invariably have tried to hide their pregnancy. (The result is inadequate health care which increases the risks for the girl and her baby.) They do so out of ignorance or unavailability of abortion and family planning services and out of fear of social and parental censure.

The only way schools can help reduce the risk of pregnancy, the authorities say, is through more candor in sex education courses and counseling by school health personnel. They should provide honest information that will help youngsters avoid pregnancy. Experts advise that the school nurse can play a key role if she can gain the girls'confidence and if she can refer sexually active girls to doctors for contraceptive and family planning advice. And she can help the girls understand why early identification of pregnancy is in their best interests and those of the unborn child.

Miss Howard says: "Perhaps most importantly, all school health personnel--physicians, nurses, administrators, educators--can see to it that the school system understands that the issues are not simplistic moral ones--pregnancy is not contagious; pregnant girls do not cause other girls to become pregnant--but ones of risks and that the high risks of pregnancy in adolescence deserve the same conscientious objective support and effort toward solution that is made in other areas."

HEW's 'Rights' for School-age Parents

The Dept. of Health, Education and Welfare has established a goal of offering comprehensive services to all pregnant school-age girls by 1974-75. In January 1972, HEW Secy. Elliot L. Richardson created an Inter-Agency Task Force on Comprehensive Programs for School-Age Parents to find ways to set up a delivery system to offer services in every community in the nation.

Task force director W. Stanley Kruger says it will be a difficult goal to achieve because of archaic policies of schools to expel pregnant students and sometimes the fathers. "Our first objective is to keep the youngsters in school," he says. "But we face the same problem as with the dissemination of sex education."

The task force is holding conferences in all 50 states to develop public and professional concern about the needs of adolescent parents--both boys and girls. It plans to provide state and local school administrators and other key officials with the "know-how" to implement integrated health, education and social service programs through school systems. But precisely how such a program "package" will be applied on the local level everywhere has not been determined by the task force. Part of the federal strategy is to impress upon school officials that they have the primary responsibility in this area.

In a policy statement issued with the formation of the task force, U.S. Comr. of Education Sidney P. Marland said: "Every girl in the United States has a right to and a need for the education that will help her prepare herself for a career, for family life and for citizenship. To be married or pregnant is not sufficient cause to deprive her of an education and the opportunity to become a contributing member of society.

"USOE urges school systems to provide continuing education for girls who become pregnant. Most pregnant girls are physically able to remain in their regular classes, during most of their pregnancy. Any decision to modify a pregnant girl's school program should be made only after consulting with the girl, her parents, or her husband if she is married, and the appropriate educational, medical and social service authorities. Further, local school systems have an obligation to cooperate with such other state, county and city agencies as health and welfare departments and with private agencies and physicians to assure that pregnant girls receive proper medical, psychological and social services during pregnancy and for as long as needed thereafter.

"The needs of pregnant girls are but one aspect of our concern. Young fathers also require assistance to enable them to meet the considerable responsibilities which they have assumed. We shall continue to emphasize in all aspects of our comprehensive programs for school-age parents, the problems, needs, resources, processes and program activities which will serve both young women and young men experiencing and anticipating early parenthood."

It is also likely that the federal government will make more funds available to schools in the categories of technical assistance and information as well as services. According to the plan approved by Richardson, the HEW task force is developing recommendations "based on an analysis of the need for additional federal funds and federally funded services which will be created by a significant increase in comprehensive programs." Currently, HEW is committed to spending $393,000 over the next three years on technical assistance and information programs. The plan calls for increasing this amount to $1.043 million. Most of the additional money will be used to stage the state conferences and for publicizing the program.

Dayton's Systems Approach—$1600 per Girl

The city of Dayton, Ohio, has operated a daytime center for girls for three years employing the systems approach. Administered by the Dayton Family and Children's Service Assn., the center serves 45 unwed mothers at a cost of $72,111 per year, or $1,600 per girl. Goals of the project are to: secure full health services early in pregnancy, provide health and child care education, provide an opportunity to continue the girl's education, and assist her through group and individual counseling.

Among the cooperating agencies are the Dayton Board of Education, which supplies three part-time teachers and course materials; the Dayton Public Health Nursing Service, which provides one part-time supervising nurse and three part-time nurses for health education and medical follow-up; the YWCA, which houses the center; and the Miami Valley and Good Samaritan Hospitals which provide the use of clinics, staff and other medical facilities. Free medical services are given to girls from marginal income families.

HEW says a study of comprehensive programs similar to Dayton's shows a measurable benefit to the girls enrolled in them compared to those who are not. With comprehensive services: more than twice as many girls return to school after giving birth (or graduate while enrolled in the program); subsequent pregnancy rate (2.4 pregnancies per girl over a five-year period) is half that of untreated girls; the number of girls who become welfare cases is half that of the target group (60%), indicating possible positive effects of high school graduation, job training and postponement of repeated pregnancy.

Federal agencies involved in the HEW task force and in the delivery of services include USOE, the Office of Child Development, Social Rehabilitation Services and the National Center for Family Planning Services.

Outside agencies cooperating with the task force are the Consortium on Early Childbearing and Childrearing and the National Alliance Concerned with School-Age Parents.

CONTINUATION EDUCATION—A SAFETY NET

The continuation school--to educate the person who hasn't or can't make it in "regular" school--has become--in six years--a distinct and necessary function of public education. It is designed to be a safety net under the dropout and potential dropout.

Pioneered in California, continuation schooling today takes many forms. There is the "open campus" to accommodate working students; alternate learning centers for small groups of students with handicaps; street academies for any dropout who walks in the door; vocational career development centers for adults and juveniles; and the formal continuation school teaching academic and vocational programs to potential dropouts and dropouts.

But they all have in common a philosophy to offer a learning experience that is adapted to the needs of the student through individualized instruction--and this is what sets them apart from the uniform and generally restrictive programs of the comprehensive high school. They can be compared to the dropout prevention programs in regular schools as far as curriculum and individualizing teaching go. The comparison stops there, however, because the continuation school provides a total atmosphere that is new and different for its students. They usually are autonomous in operation, as well as separated physically from other schools, allowing the staff considerable freedom to experiment with new ways of involving youngsters.

While many communities have created continuation schools to fill particular needs, only in California have they been mandated statewide to serve the whole population. The legislature enacted a law in 1965 that ordered all school districts to "establish and maintain" continuation schools and classes. The intent of the law was to attack the dropout problem by making it compulsory for every youth to attend a continuation school until the age of 18 if he had not graduated from high school. Students under 16 also are admitted.

By the 1970-71 school year, 231 of California's school districts were providing continuation schools. Another 49, including Los Angeles, were providing continuation classes in high schools, and four were providing both. Total enrollment for California was 59,632--50,000 of the students being over 16. A high proportion--some 9,349 students--held work permits and a total of 7,601 were enrolled in work experience programs. In that year nearly 10% of the students, a total of 5,444, graduated from high school.

California's law specifies that continuation schools and classes are to meet the "special educational needs" of pupils by providing an opportunity

to complete the required academic courses for a high school diploma; a program of individualized instruction that may emphasize career training or work-study; and also special programs for pupils with behavior or severe attendance problems. Schools are not limited by these criteria. They are instructed to devise a flexible program which may incorporate any one or all the specified features.

California educators spent considerable time defining both the person they are serving and analyzing how he can best be helped. In place of the negative adjectives associated with dropouts and potential dropouts, they now prefer the term "divergent youth," and they shy away from turning this into a stereotype. Rather, they contend that every youth with special education needs is an individual--one who doesn't fit into a neat little pattern and who may vary greatly in attitude, characteristics, personal values and problems.

A large measure of tolerance is demanded of a school to cope with a group of youngsters of wide disparity in creativity, talent, competitiveness, achievement, motivation, self-concept and emotional well-being. Indeed, the philosophy at his institution, says Donald R. Reed, a teacher at Will J. Reid High School, Long Beach, Calif., dictates "an acceptance of any student at his own level--regardless of his problems or his degree of learning--and a diligent effort to help him find a satisfactory role in life and become a productive citizen within the framework of his own ability and personality." Continuation schools, generally, work from this philosophy and in practice have developed several unique characteristics.

While many schools strive for individualizing instruction, with the continuation school it is a commitment. Every opportunity is sought to encourage and praise the student to bolster his self-esteem, to replace that element which all too often seems to be lacking in the divergent or disadvantaged child--a sense of personal worth. To this end, the schools deliberately remove the competitive factor from the classroom, avoid unfavorable comparisons with peers, and often pursue "no-fail" programs which permit the student to work at a task until he masters it.

As Reed points out, "the main concern...is the motivation of students who may never have been motivated by school before." Thus, the staffs tend to emphasize counseling and guidance, hoping to steer students into areas that will capture their interest. Authorities say the result is less stress on academics and more on general education and career training. In motivating students, teachers employ short-term goals and frequent rewards. They try to reinforce the idea that success breeds success by assigning tasks that can be learned quickly. Another mark of the continuation school is a conscious effort to involve students in meaningful relationships with adults. This applies not only to in-school dealings with the staff but also to the establishment of work-experience programs in the community.

Before moving on for a look at some individual continuation programs, it is worth noting that they differ from regular schools in two other important respects: the staff and physical plant. Authorities find it takes a certain breed of teacher to imbue ambition and worth in chronically dejected and rejected youngsters. He has to be dedicated and, as one expert

puts it, "be a model of adult strength--strength being defined as the capacity to be unthreatened by the infinite variations of adolescent behavior."

For those with this quality, plus a strong desire to improve their own abilities to communicate and instruct, there can be endless satisfactions, say teachers in the field. Strong teachers, it is also noted, have strong feelings about maintaining their school's autonomy. In California and elsewhere there is concern among some continuation school educators about becoming "structured" and regimented. They are on guard against pressures which might stifle their ability to innovate. And these pressures do arise occasionally from critics who feel the rules may be too relaxed and too permissive. Continuation educators find they have tread a fine line in how far they can bend to motivate a student when it is difficult to prove that allowing unschool-like behavior brings results.

Because continuation schools are as different as their students, they are generally set up well apart from regular school facilities. This might be interpreted as an intentional display of autonomy, but authorities say the real motive is to provide a different setting for the students, away from scenes of past failures. This point may be debatable, because in Los Angeles, for example, authorities say continuation classes conducted in the high schools are among the best in the state. Whatever the merits of apartness, continuation schools by and large end up in facilities more spartan than swank. Mobile units, warehouses, former stores and supermarkets are the usual locations. Such surroundings, aside from the obvious intent to hold down costs, offer several advantages, authorities say. By renting a store, for example, a continuation school can be placed in a neighborhood or a central location in a city where it is convenient to the greatest number of pupils. Central locations in the community also facilitate contacts between the school and businessmen and others, opening up opportunities to place students in work experience situations. Some educators feel the open interior of a former store is a decided advantage, providing a freer, more stimulating atmosphere for the students to move around, to observe and join in discussion groups.

The freedom of continuation schools to experiment and innovate already has brought forth ideas that may have a significant impact on secondary education. One is the concept of making schools more available to and more adapted to the student. Some authorities believe the door is being opened to provide schooling and training for people of any age, at a pace and at hours which suit their lives. They are convinced the methods are available for reorganizing all schools, removing their constraints and making them more responsive to the communities they serve.

DeKalb's Open Campus

A disciple of diversity in the educational system, DeKalb County, Ga., School Supt. Jim Cherry, has initiated a major effort to revolutionize schools. The county, a "bedroom" suburb of Atlanta, has established an open campus high school at five locations, two of them operating day and night and the others only at night, to serve about 1,800 students. Officials estimate 50% of this student body is "salvaged," meaning students who

otherwise would have dropped out of school. As a result, better than 91% of the county's students entering eighth grade go on to finish high school.

Cherry says an analysis of the county's high dropout rate prompted him to launch the open campus program in 1965 with these objectives:

- To help those students financially unable to stay in school by providing a system compatible with wage-earning.
- To assist students with emotional maladjustments--immaturity, short attention spans, psychological problems and just plain boredom with conventional high school instruction.
- To serve high school-age students who through marriage or parenthood have assumed adult responsibilities.
- To serve adults who need to improve their education after previously having dropped out of high school.

The result is a highly flexible program designed for students 16 years old and above. Class periods are two and one-half hours long and most students are enrolled for only two courses at a time. In a 12-week period, they receive 150 hours of instruction in a course. The 50 teachers in the program employ programmed instructional material extensively, along with field trips. Students arrive for particular classes and depart afterward, as in college, and they are allowed to dress pretty much as they please and smoke on the school grounds. However, strict rules on class attendance and tardiness are maintained. School administrators report that respect for school property is generally high and there have been only minor disciplinary problems.

Currently budgeted at nearly $400,000 a year, the open campus, Cherry says, has had a problem with accreditation because of a rule by the Southern Assn. of Schools and Colleges requiring that the library contain 12 books per student. This, he says, would cost an estimated $50,000 and he has contested the rule, contending that the colleges and the public should recognize the quality of the work accomplished. "I'm not talking about the dilution of academic standards," he has said, "but the recognition of the fact that standards can be handled in different structures."

Cherry has plans for erecting three open campus centers in various areas of the county to make them accessible to every student and adult, and to handle the county's growing school population. Centralization, he says, is essential if school systems are to afford the ultimate in either fine arts education or the teaching of vocational skills. Reorganization along these lines, he says, is a "must" to provide more flexible scheduling, extended educational opportunities and more student time in education. "Technology is changing too fast," he adds. "The high school student must come to accept that education is a continuing process." Cherry believes the open campus is economically feasible and, with thorough implementation, would allow every student to work on multiple learning levels according to his intelligence and educational background without the stress of being programmed for graduation.

Dallas' Metropolitan Learning Center

Since opening for business in an old lumber company building in September 1970 and expanding to a second location, Dallas' Metropolitan Learning Centers are credited with helping to sharply reduce the city's high dropout rate. The two centers now have a combined enrollment of more than 400 in grades 8-12 and a large waiting list. The students are either dropouts from regular schools or near-dropouts who transferred. Half are married or have children.

School hours for most students are 8:30 a.m. to 12:30 p.m. when many leave for jobs. Those who work nights attend afternoon sessions. Students are free to sit at any table and work on any subject they choose. Teachers are there to advise, allowing students to work at their own pace until they satisfactorily complete course requirements. Then they take a final exam. After gaining enough credits to graduate, students receive their diplomas from their home high schools and may participate in graduation ceremonies.

Director Bennie Kelley has established a relaxed, though purposeful atmosphere. "See how neat and clean this place is--no writing on the walls, no trash lying around," he told an interviewer recently. "We have no discipline problems. These kids are here because they want to be, not because they have to be." There is no recruitment for the program. Students are told that while they are being given freedom, it is their responsibility to learn. Many have succeeded in making up for time lost after dropping out of their home schools.

There are some dropouts from the centers (30% in the first year) and the program has failed to attract minority students. There were only 28 blacks, five Mexican-Americans and one Indian enrolled in late 1971.

Portland's Metropolitan Learning Center

The Portland, Ore., Metropolitan Learning Center, an ungraded continuous progress public school for youngsters aged 5-17, accommodates 210 students having learning difficulties. Principal Amasa L. Gilman characterizes the center as an alternative to the traditional public school, offering its students a wide variety of educational experiences. Admission to the center, located in the same building as Couch Elementary School in the heart of the city, is by application. There are seven certified teachers, three full-time teacher aides, volunteer assistants from colleges and the community, and parents who bring the pupil-teacher ratio down to about 10 to 1. Rules and regulations are set by a school board consisting of the school's permanent personnel, three parents and three student representatives.

Gilman says "students are responsible for the design of their own learning programs. No limitations are placed on their areas of interest or the rate at which they may learn. No grades are given. Whether a student participates in group activities or functions alone is determined by the nature of his interest and his own inclination rather than by directive teachers. Teachers counsel and assist students to develop their own learning programs. No one is pressured to do anything he doesn't want to do."

Curriculum consists of a system of multicourses lasting from three weeks to a full year. They range from yoga, psychology, mathematics, artistic welding, film making, primary reading, Russian, German and geology through the spectrum of human activities to classes in survival. The center avails itself of "learning stations" out in the community, such as the classrooms of Portland State U., business offices, the zoo, museums, the police and fire stations, hospitals and even ski slopes and skating rinks.

Student record files provide the information on which marks and equivalency credits are awarded to satisfy high school or college entrance requirements. Graduating students receive a standard high school diploma.

Gilman concedes there are numerous problems. Among them: "a tendency to deemphasize reading, writing, arithmetic and other 'academic' endeavors (by the students who had failed in them); lack of student participation in solving school problems; apprehension in the community about students at large without immediate teacher supervision. The principal also notes that students have difficulty in finding privacy or a quiet place to study. "Distractions by people, new courses, an exciting activity or trip-of-the-day introduce conflicts that divert students. Inspired projects have not been completed. There has been difficulty in finding commitment."

The school has not been able to evaluate the affective learnings accruing to students, because the means do not exist. It has also been unable to evaluate how well they use their freedom. However, on standardized achievement tests, the students "excel" in reading skills, language skills and study skills and compare favorably in math with other public school students.

Work Opportunity Center, Minneapolis

Students and staff call it "the Wock," the Work Opportunity Center housed in an old red brick structure that formerly was a Masonic hall in downtown Minneapolis. Started in 1966 with a USOE vocational research grant, WOC is now a fully funded part of the public school system created to train and educate dropouts and potential dropouts aged 16-21. Most students come from working-class backgrounds and about 20% are black or other minorities. Currently the enrollment averages about 300 students and there is a staff of 50. The center is open 12 months a year.

Students receive an individualized program of training and study. They may remain in class for 10 minutes, an hour or all day. For just going to class, each student receives a coupon worth 10 cents redeemable in the cafeteria, at the school dry cleaning plant or its auto service station. Attendance usually averages 80%. Schedules are flexible. Students have options to attend for any part of the day or to enter a course at any time during the year. They move at their own pace. They earn regular credits for their courses and these may be applied toward obtaining a high school diploma (approximately 85% of those who go all the way through WOC return to their home high school for graduation). Grading is pass-fail, but no one ever fails because students are given all the time they need to complete each project.

A deliberate attempt has been made to dispel any semblance of a school atmosphere. The remodeled hall has no classrooms. Instead, instruction places are called "areas" and teachers are called instructors. The building has a general shop area set up like a factory for instruction in electronics and electricity, small-engine repair and machine work. The training area for office skills looks like a regular business office. Informal instruction areas are provided for English, math, the social sciences and other subjects.

Center officials say most of their "graduates" have gone on to jobs and lives as productive citizens. Some have entered college. More than 3,500 problem youth have attended WOC. An evaluation of the project shows teacher performance, not just student performance, is vital to effective operation of the center. As part of a dropout prevention program in the city, potential dropouts in regular schools are now participating in the WOC program part of the day.

Valley High's Model Systems Approach

A systems approach has been applied at Valley High School, La Puente, Calif., in an effort to develop a model for continuation education. Authorities say it was decided to try systems analysis and management techniques because the school was employing traditional educational methods and was "admittedly failing to do the job." It was unable to provide for the special needs of the more than 200 students in attendance, all rejected from the comprehensive schools and suffering from a variety of educational, social, emotional and behavioral shortcomings.

The project identified three major objectives:

- Decreased frequency and seriousness of disruptive behavior.
- Increased attendance.
- Increased academic achievement.

It then developed a highly detailed instructional management system broken down into three sub-systems: instruction, planning and problem solving, and management and support services.

Components of the instructional sub-system include academic studies, work orientation, a reinforcing event room (where rewards are given for academic performance), materials improvement, and re-engagement counseling (to give a student "time out" to correct his own disruptive behavior and become re-engaged with the ongoing school system).

The problem-solving sub-system covers the school principal, admission referral counseling and system improvement.

An evaluation of the project, completed in 1970, concluded that there was "every indication of effectiveness of the system, given the maximum implementation." The report added: "It is further believed that while

this system does not provide the only solution to the problem of continuation education, it does present an effective, ongoing instructional system answering the special needs of this special population."

Valley High School has produced a set of school management procedure guides covering student processing, classroom management and school administration. They detail what is to be done in the school, who is to do it and how well it is to be accomplished. The evaluation report says the guides have several purposes. While they may be used as a model in setting up a new school, they have continuing value in the school itself. They provide detailed instructions for new members of the staff and serve as a review and reminder to all the staff of the expected ways to conduct school operations. Perhaps more importantly, they "provide an objective description of the school's operation that can serve as the focal point for communication, analysis, understanding, evaluation and improvement."

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New York City's Alternative Schools

A new school for dropouts and military service veterans was added to New York City's alternative high school program in March 1972. Located in the New York City board of education offices, downtown Brooklyn, the school has enrolled 400 students seeking to complete high school or gain a high school equivalency certificate. Some students come from other high schools to take advantage of the flexible program.

Special services offered at the school include college placement and counseling; special upgrading of reading and math skills; instruction in the student's native tongue, if needed; instruction in English as a second language; educational and vocational counseling and job development and placement.

Nearby colleges enable the students to explore career opportunities. Other resources in the area, such as governmental agencies and private groups, are tapped for job placement and career training. The school is used for teacher training in order to feed into the regular school system innovative practices to be tried out in the school. These include the ungraded-no marks concept, community resources as learning experiences, multiage groupings, open-ended programming, and the effect of housing a school in an office building.

The city's auxiliary services for high schools also conduct learning centers in Brandeis High School and Julia Richman High School in Manhattan, Taft High School in the Bronx, Prospect Heights High School and Maxwell Vocational High School in Brooklyn, Jamaica Vocational High School and Junior High School No. 10 in Queens, and Curtis High School in Richmond. There is a "satellite" high school attached to New Dorp High School in Richmond. Activities in these centers, conducted in the evening hours, are similar to the program at the new school in Brooklyn which has day and evening hours.

Pontiac's Yellow Brick School

An intensive individualized instruction program for 45 disadvantaged high school students--all dropouts or potential dropouts--has met with success in Pontiac, Mich. Housed in a former home, the school is a pilot project funded by Title I, ESEA, and by the city's dropout prevention program. It features a 15-1 pupil-teacher ratio, programmed material, small group discussions and individualized counseling for academic and personal problems. The curriculum includes language arts, with emphasis on reading, social studies, math, science and vocational education. Work-study programs are utilized to the maximum extent, with some students active in the Neighborhood Youth Corps and others attending trade classes after school.

The daily schedule is broken down into three periods, two in the morning and one in the afternoon. Curriculum is ungraded. Materials used include the Mott Basic Language Skills, Litton Programmed Material and a variety of materials prepared by Science Research Associates.

In an evaluation comparing the students to a matched sample of 36 students in regular high school, the program was found to be "effective in changing student behavior and in improving academic achievement." This was reflected in tests of attendance, achievement, dropout potential, dropout rate, student opinions and a graduate follow-up study, officials report. Only student self-concept showed no significant gains. Of the 45 students in attendance three years ago, 23 have graduated. Although there has been no follow-up of the other 22, some are believed to have returned to their original high schools.

Hartford's Alternate Learning Centers

The National Teacher Corps and the U. of Hartford are cooperating with the Hartford, Conn., public schools in an alternate learning center program for alienated inner-city youngsters in grades 7-12. The youngsters have failed in regular school. Many have behavior problems. School officials say typical among the students in the eight centers are "the boy who, because of parental conflict, doesn't identify with men and has a death wish for his father; the extremely frustrated, frequently violent 16-year-old of tested normal intelligence who reads at second-grade level; the girl who has turned to prostitution as a way out of the abject poverty in which she lives; the student from a Puerto Rican family who was labeled retarded purely because no one ever helped him hurdle the language barrier." The officials add that most of these youths, "because of their problems and because of the over-display of wealth on the part of pimps, prostitutes and pushers in their neighborhoods, are potential candidates for the world of vice, violence and drug addiction."

The eight centers, located in churches, a Salvation Army building and Trinity College, presently serve 200 youths at a cost of $2,635 per pupil (compared to $1,093 per pupil in regular Hartford schools). Funds are provided by the Teacher Corps and Title I, ESEA. The primary effort of the centers is to rebuild a positive self-image in the students and provide motivation for learning through individualized attention. By design, the program is community oriented, with involvement of the parents and the use

of community educational and recreational facilities. One hurdle for the program has been the large amount of transportation which must be provided for students--to gymnasiums, swimming pools, dark room and homemaking instruction facilities, for instance. Another inhibiting factor, officials say, is that the majority of the center staff members are white while most of the students are black or Puerto Rican.

An evaluation of the Trinity College program by Hartford Public Schools in late 1971 found that there has been some measurable success with a group of 40 ninth and tenth graders. Attendance increased almost 8% above the Hartford Public High School average, and tardiness and behavioral offenses declined. There was a "relatively large reduction" in the number of academic D's and F's. However, the evaluators said, there was need for over-all improvement in academic achievement.

Scrambling Alternatives

Lincoln Continuation High School in Sacramento, Calif., has added a new wrinkle to flexible scheduling: a scramble system of class attendance. Each student has four courses assigned at the beginning of his enrollment. He may attend all four courses as scheduled, or if he chooses he may stay in one class for three periods and another class for the remaining period.

Teacher assignments limit the student's stay in one subject area to three periods a day. After completing the required units to finish a course, the student can then divide his attendance among his other assigned courses. He is not assigned new classes until he has completed three of his four assigned courses. The system benefits from the fact that students are given individualized instruction in "learning packages," which allows them to progress at their own speed.

DROPOUT REHABILITATION

The main thrust of the federal government's efforts to keep disadvantaged youths of school age off the streets has been funneled through the Neighborhood Youth Corps and the Job Corps. Both programs have been highly controversial--in terms of cost and payoff--since they were launched by OEO in 1965 and, as a consequence, both have been shunted into the Labor Dept.'s Manpower Development and Training Act programs. Little is heard of these programs today. But they are still active, if on a more subdued scale, and their existence continues to have an impact on dropout rehabilitation and prevention in inner-city and rural areas.

Neighborhood Youth Corps—Back to School

Recently, the Neighborhood Youth Corps changed directions and is now confined to boys and girls under 18. Formerly it also served the 18 to 21 age group. The emphasis of the corps today is to keep youngsters in school or to induce them to return. The inducement in both instances is money--in the form of jobs in public and nonprofit institutions at the minimum wage and up to 15 hours a week. The objective is to persuade youths to remain in high school until they graduate by relieving somewhat their poverty situation and introducing them to the world of work. There is a summer jobs program which also is designed as a bridge for a return to school in the fall as well as an opportunity for enrollees to find jobs in industry.

More than 3 million youngsters have taken part in youth corps since its inception, both in-school and out-of-school. A research report prepared by the Dept. of Labor in 1970 said that the corps has been "of real benefit" to large numbers of underprivileged youth and that the enrollees themselves shared this opinion. The provision of a small supplementary income is considered an achievement in itself in addition to the fact that the youth corps has acted as an "aging vat" to help these youth through a difficult transition period. Against what the report termed many lasting benefits, the Dept. of Labor researchers noted numerous significant defects:

- Many of the corps' youth had failed one grade, sometimes two or three, before leaving school--where they had gotten neither the education nor the counseling they needed. Although the corps gave them a chance to avoid still another failure, it did not generally provide the remedial education and extended counseling which they sorely required.

- Many had health problems, but medical attention was rarely provided unless the problem was so acute as to interfere with subsequent employment.

- Substantial numbers of enrollees had police records. Although participation in the out-of-school programs reduced the rate at which they added to their police records, it did not usually equip them for jobs that would pay enough to make criminal activity a less attractive source of income.

- Job placement and job development were not integral parts of most of the projects that were studied. However, when these services were provided. they proved of great value.

- The out-of-school projects in urban areas were not reaching impoverished white youth in proportion to their numbers, but those who were participating were often more disadvantaged than the Negro participants.

Researchers were unable to turn up any statistical evidence that the Neighborhood Youth Corps program was a factor in holding enrollees in school. In one study, the authors concluded that the youth corps "was not notably successful in preventing youth from leaving school prematurely." An analysis of school records, moreover, did not indicate that youth corps participation had a favorable effect upon scholastic achievement. The Labor Dept. report adds: "Nor did the youth corps experience appear to change the over-all attitude of enrollees toward the school system, toward teachers, or toward future aspirations and expectations. There was, in fact, some indication that youth corps enrollees who, prior to entering the program, had been doing barely passing work in school suffered some impairment in their school work (greater than that of the comparable control group) during their enrollment. This may have been due...to the fact that the minimal amount of time usually spent on homework is even further reduced by the time spent in work experience during enrollment."

The study found that enrollment in the in-school program lasted on the average about nine months and many youths stayed a year or more. In the out-of-school program large numbers of young men left after less than three months, while young women tended to stay longer. On the plus side, the study said the youth corps generally enhanced the employability of out-of-school enrollees. It added: "Youth corps programs in urban centers have been extremely beneficial to young Negro women, of little help to many young Negro men and of even less benefit to young white men and women."

Job Corps—Shrinking

In 1967, the Job Corps was serving 65,000 youths--mostly hard-core disadvantaged--aged 16-21. The program has now shrunk to 25,000 and may soon disappear despite a goal to provide care and attention to youths society has rejected. Critics say the program today attracts only the most embittered young men and women with no place else to turn, many of them troublemakers, from broken homes, from poverty, lacking in education and employable skills.

Job Corpsmen are given vocational training, basic education, and training in home and family living. The objective is to bring about an attitudinal change in the enrollee and hopefully to prepare him for a job or further

training. Like the Youth Corps, the program seems to be more beneficial to young women and some of its newer projects--such as "Solo Parents" now being tried in Atlanta--are directed at them. Studies also show one reason the program may be on the wane is a lack of pulling power. Youths find several drawbacks, such as being away from home, as reasons for not enrolling.

Portland's Vocational Village

Working comes in the form of "job sheets" for the more than 300 students attending Vocational Village. There are no grades and no marks. Everyone begins school at his own level and progresses at his own speed. Attendance is taken by punching a time clock.

Now in its fourth year, Vocational Village is the Portland (Ore.) School District's novel and highly personal method of "turning on" dropouts to become productive citizens. Operating in a former store-warehouse, this special continuation school was established in 1968 specifically to deal with an alarmingly high number of dropouts from regular schools. The philosophy behind the school is that all students, regardless of their economic or social backgrounds, deserve an education just as much as their more achieving counterparts attending regular schools.

Courses are grouped in vocational and basic education clusters. The vocational clusters include industrial mechanics, food service occupations, health service occupations, office occupations, marketing and fabrication processes (refrigeration and air conditioning and metals and woodworking). Basic education includes reading, communications (English), speech, homemaking, personal health, social studies, human relations, mathematics, general science, physical education and general business.

The clusters have been designed, says Ronald L. Thurston, Vocational Village director, "to give students the opportunity to develop entry-level skills in the occupational area of their choice, or to take possible further training leading to employment." The method of instruction is personalized through curriculum materials developed by staff members out of actual operational experience to suit the needs of students and instructors. And this resulted in the job sheet.

As described by Thurston: "A job sheet is a piece of paper with some instruction on it. First, the specific task which the student is required to do is spelled out. Sometimes it will require special tools or other materials. A job sheet prescribes a piece of work in which the student and the teacher complement each other. The end result is a meaningful learning experience. The student is able to do something that he was unable to do before.... Students do not fail; they work until they succeed."

Thus students can progress at their own rate and they are rewarded for completing a job sheet with "job credits." (Ninety job sheets equal one Carnegie Unit, or one full year's credit.) By design each sheet is a "bite size" amount of curriculum that the average student can complete in about one hour. More than 2,600 job sheets have been written in 12 courses of instruction, covering both vocational and basic education. And by further

design the job sheets are used to integrate academic with vocational instruction. For example, a student in a food service class learning to be a cook's helper is given a job sheet to study menu terms to learn how to take an order. The terms on a particular sheet may be written in French. So the student learns what "a la King," "fillet," "printaniere" mean while also learning the ingredients of various dishes.

The main academic strategy, however, is to incorporate English instruction, both reading and writing skills, in the job sheets. "While there is much to be said for Shakespeare, poetry and Old English, it has little meaning for the vocationally minded student," observes Thurston. "More essential in their lives will be particular skills of good, clear communication. Instead of teaching them useless information for the sake of tradition, such skills as vocabulary and spelling can be taught in their chosen vocation."

Because letter grades are not used and finals are not given in many cases, graduation requirements have been formulated on test information. The minimum requirements include a fifth-grade reading level, a sixth-grade spelling level and a 70% equivalent of 73 items on the CAT mathematics test.

Part of the success of Vocational Village is attributed to a recently strengthened admissions policy which relies heavily on tests and staff interviews to single out students who are highly motivated to obtain a job-related education. No one is considered unless he is between 14 and 21 years old, has been formally excused from high school, and shows, through testing, an intelligence above the mentally retarded level. Applicants are then screened on the severity of need, since there are three applicants for each opening in the school. Other criteria for entrance include the level of desire for enrollment, the maturity of the individual, and his grooming. Neatly trimmed hair is preferred.

An April 1971 study of the students showed their attendance to be 95% better than when they were in high school. There was significant improvement in attitudes toward completing high school, the teachers, learning an occupation and holding a job. Major improvement also was noted in attitudes toward further education, language and personal hygiene.

The first graduating class in June 1969 numbered 11. Graduates have since risen to 68 in 1970 and 80 in 1971. Thurston says many dropouts have succeeded in making an adjustment to school life at Vocational Village and then returned to their regular schools. Moreover, "students have achieved at a rapid rate, and many have become motivated to seek advanced formal education." For more information, contact: Ronald L. Thurston, Director, Vocational Village, 725 S.W. Powell Blvd., Portland, Ore. 97202.

Chicago's Urban Youth Program

The idea that business firms should participate in dropout rehabilitation was pioneered in Chicago. In 1961, a large department store, Carson Pirie Scott & Co., launched a project called "Double E"--for employment and education. Double E has since grown into the citywide Urban Youth Program (UYP), which offers a variety of assistance to Chicago's annual crop or more

than 14,000 high school dropouts. UYP is administered by the city's Bureau of Pupil Personnel Services and in 1971 was reaching about 19% of the dropouts. UYP is designed to assist dropouts aged 16-21. Although a Chicago student may be dropped by a school at age 16, the law requires that he remain in school until he reaches 17. As now constituted, UYP has four components.

- Double C--(for census and counseling) serves as the outreach and recruitment arm. Within a month after a student drops out, UYP sends him a letter signed by the superintendent of schools inviting him to talk to a counselor at one of 10 reception centers. Depending upon the circumstances, the counselor may propose a return to regular school, enrollment in evening school or a phase of UYP, referral to a private trade school or some other agency for special assistance.

- Double E. Most referrals are to this phase of the program, which is located in two downtown office buildings. Here enrollees attend classes two days a week and may work the other days if jobs are available.

- Double T--(for training and transition). This component is a short-term training program in specific job skills for those who have other interests or no aptitude for Double E, which is predominantly aimed at clerical and merchandising work in stores. Centered in Dunbar Vocational High School in the city's south side black ghetto, Double T provides eight hours a week training in tailoring, carpentry, cosmetology, office practices, key punch and typing. It offers high school credits.

- Multi-Occupations. Enrollees, frequently described as hard-core unemployable, receive extensive vocational training and counseling.

To qualify for Double E, students need at least a fifth-grade reading level and must be serious about continuing their education. Many admitted having a variety of educational and personal handicaps, including broken homes, a welfare background, criminal records and drug addiction. Program authorities have recently noted a significant increase in the number of young people with major problems and they say the average age of incoming students has declined, reflecting a lower age at which they are dropping out. The student body is about 70% black, 20% white and 10% Spanish-speaking. Since its inception, Double E has had difficulty recruiting whites in a city where 85% of blacks attend virtually all-black schools.

Students enter Double E at 10-week intervals and may attend workshops offering vocational guidance, personal guidance and testing in academic skills while waiting for a class to start. Currently, Double E has about 300 students in attendance at any one time in 40-week cycles, with half of them meeting in the school on Tuesday and Wednesday and the other half on Thursday and Friday. Classes are held from 9 a.m. to 3 p.m. and are divided into 45-minute periods. Students choose from a list of courses including English, math, ethnic studies, urban survival and job orientation. There are family life classes for young women, many of whom are unwed mothers, and typing and secretarial courses.

Because of a job shortage and the diversity of student interests, the curriculum has been directed away from particular businesses and toward

helping the student deal with his general environment. In urban survival courses students learn about the operations of various city institutions. In ethnic studies--a response to student demands for a black studies course --they learn not only about blacks but Puerto Ricans, Poles, Jews, Irish and other ethnic minorities with whom they may come in contact. In addition to classroom instruction, field trips are conducted to acquaint students with "the system," to broaden their cultural horizons and to help them formulate occupational goals and understand the demands of the labor market.

Participating employers inform the school when part-time jobs are available. These are filled by the school with students having the most acute financial needs and by careful matching of students with jobs. Job counselors keep track of the student in his job to note weaknesses, such as communication skills, which need strengthening in school. To retain their job students must stay in the 40-week school course.

Students receive three credits for their school work and one credit for their job. This enables some to obtain a high school diploma. Others are counseled on how to obtain more schooling or training when they leave Double E. The school also helps those with diplomas to find work.

Authorities say Double E's greatest service is in assisting "youth to understand themselves and reevaluate their future goals in life." The students agree, studies show. Double E also provides a means whereby unwholesome attitudes toward school and education in general are restructured into a positive approach.

However, one evaluator of the program concedes that while attitudinal problems may be corrected, Double E does not provide its students with the education and skills needed to compete successfully in the job market. "Double E has taken people with three strikes against them, and turned them into people with two strikes against them," he comments. "It has moved them up in the employment queue, but only temporarily and not very far."

Accordingly, school officials are contemplating changes that would emphasize training in specific skills and possibly expand Double E to a two-year curriculum.

Street Academies—Downs and Ups

In their brief history, storefront schools and street academies have encountered some severe setbacks while pioneering a new medium of education to reach the ghetto reject. The setbaks have been in administration and a result of hand-to-mouth funding, causing some of the mini-schools to founder. The idea, however, has prevailed and more of the schools are springing up--perhaps someday to become established parts of public school systems.

At least that is the goal of the Urban League which, with private industry, has been nurturing street schools since the late 1960s. Clarence Bozeman, director of the Urban League program, says that within two years he hopes to see several local school districts incorporate street academies

into the public school budget, to cure the funding problem and at the same time allow the academies to retain their unique identities and function. Presently there are 12 street academies funded at about $100,000 apiece by the Urban League and Model Cities programs in Cleveland; Detroit; Flint, Mich.; Hartford, Conn.; Minneapolis; New Orleans; New York City; Phoenix; Pittsburgh; South Bend, Ind.; White Plains, N.Y.; and Albany, N.Y. Each has an enrollment of about 100 students. Over the next five years, Bozeman says he expects the number of academies to rise to 20 or 25.

Storefront schools have been set up in numerous cities on a more informal basis by local agencies. Several have affiliations with a parent public school or other educational institution and by recent estimates there were close to 100 in operation. Evaluators have found wide differences, however, in the quality of the schools, in teaching, facilities and administration. A combination of these difficulties, as in the case of New Jersey's street schools, have resulted in programs being shut down.

Harlem Prep's Second Chance

One of the best known and the most successful street academy is New York City's Harlem Prep. The school's mission is what its name implies--a preparatory education for college. Started in the fall of 1967, Harlem Prep has dispatched more than 350 graduates to colleges, including many prestigious ones here and abroad. Its motto is "Moja Logo," African words for unity and brotherhood, which the school has translated into this goal: "Each of our lives is united for one immediate aim--to go on to college."

Headmaster Edward F. Carpenter says the school exists solely because of the inadequacies of New York City's public schools which have a dropout rate exceeding 1,000 per month. "We have taken the rejects and shown they are not rejects," he says, adding that the term dropout is never applied to his students. "We call them what they are--school leavers."

Located in a former supermarket in the heart of Harlem, the school is private and its $450,000 annual budget is met by contributions from foundations and industry. The biggest donors are the Carnegie Corp., Ford Foundation and Standard Oil of New Jersey. It has an enrollment capacity of 600 students, 19 teachers and three administrators. Annual per-pupil cost is $750. Carpenter would like to have the New York City Board of Education defray part or all of the expenses, but he has not been able to complete such an arrangement.

The chief criteria for enrollment in Harlem Prep is an ambition on the part of the student to advance his education and a strong desire for a "second chance," Carpenter says. A high proportion of the students are black or Puerto Rican while the staff is 50% black and 50% white. Carpenter says there is no conscious effort at integration, adding that it is the character of the school that is the chief concern. "We're an organism that can reflect change in need for any student."

A visitor to the school finds a large open area; no walls or partitions have been erected. Classes are defined in clusters of chairs and tables

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and portable blackboards. Faculty members say this openness gives everyone in the school a sense of "elbow room" and informality. It allows students to observe learning activities in other areas and lets them choose which one they want to participate in. Students are free to visit other classes but they must make up the work they miss in their own class.

Students spend from 10 to 20 months in the school. Courses include basic and advanced math through calculus, writing and reading skills, comparative literature, speech, drama, mass media, analysis, creative writing, African and Carribean studies, Egyptology, political science, biology, chemistry, physics, logic, film making and video recording, art and music. Experts in these and other areas from corporations in New York City supplement the teaching staff.

Subjects are taught with the idea of applying their theories to contemporary social problems and, wherever possible, interdisciplinary approaches are used. This concept reflects a main goal of the school. Students enter Harlem Prep not as a way to flee the ghetto but to develop themselves fully so that they may return to render service there. Service to the community begins while the student is in school. All students spend at least four hours a week helping in elementary schools and hospitals and doing social work in public agencies and churches.

Carpenter says Harlem Prep's dropout rate is less than .5% and consists of a few students compelled to go to work.

Buffalo's Community Education Center

More typical of the storefront schools is the Buffalo, N.Y., Community Education Center (CEC) located in a former supermarket in the inner city. Serving some 700 dropouts and adults, CEC has a program similar to the ones offered by the city's high schools. But it also offers a strong emphasis on counseling the enrollees and familiarizing them with employment opportunities in the area. CEC has a staff psychologist, two guidance counselors and 22 part-time teachers.

EXPANDING ADULT EDUCATION

One of the more heartening trends in the area of dropout rehabilitation is a widening commitment on the part of the states, aided by the federal government, to enable adults to complete a high school education. More and more states are following the lead of California, Florida and Michigan in establishing special schools for adults, reversing long-standing policies that made it difficult for anyone to obtain a high school diploma after leaving the public school system. This has come about in response to the demands of increasing numbers of young adults for an opportunity to gain a diploma. It also is a recognition that the great majority of the nation's unemployed and under-employed are also under-educated.

Of the 110.6 million Americans over 25 in 1971, the Bureau of the Census reports that 48.2 million had not graduated from high school. This total includes 15.2 million who had not graduated from elementary school, 5.6 million who had not completed fifth grade and 1.5 million who never attended school.

The federal government currently is spending $61 million under the Elementary and Secondary Education Act on adult education, and local school systems are putting in another $40 million. The federal program is directed primarily at adult basic education while the states have launched broad programs to provide a wide variety of educational experiences at all levels. They range from helping young adults in correctional institutions finish high school to courses for parents in coping with the problems of modern life such as drug abuse and sex education. There are even training courses for teachers.

In recent years adult basic education programs have undergone a radical change from the stilted illiteracy courses of yesterday. Authorities say without exception today's curriculum is being made relevant to an adult's real life needs. Reading material deals with renting an apartment, comparison shopping, applying for a job and maintaining safety standards on the job.

Math instruction is concerned with computing earnings and taxes, budgeting and time payments. There are courses in family life and how to be an effective citizen.

By some estimates more than 13 million adults--young and old--are enrolled in some type of educational undertaking in addition to holding jobs or being mothers and housewives. Four million are attending public schools where local boards manage the programs, arranging for the teachers and course materials. To handle the influx of students, several communities are

Adult Educators

NEA is urging its local associations to support adult education programs--and to organize the teachers. The association points out that most teachers of adults are recruited from the ranks of daytime faculty. There are nearly 100,000 teachers of adults in the public schools--6,000 or more employed full-time on adult programs. Local associations, the NEA says, can negotiate to improve benefits and rights for these teachers, enlarge their membership and insist that boards of education develop meaningful programs for adults.

For more information contact: NEA, Division of Adult Education Services, 1201 16th St. NW, Washington, D.C. 20036. Area code 202: 833-5493.

setting aside special areas in schools for use by adults not only at night but also during the day. Flint, Mich.; New Haven, Conn.; Los Angeles; Minneapolis; and Atlanta are developing this idea into what are becoming "community schools." There are 28 community schools in Los Angeles alone. They include instruction in how parents can improve their children's reading ability at home by such means as working through the youngsters' special interests, playing word games and using TV as a learning tool.

All 24 of Maryland's school districts are active in an adult continuing education program which provides courses in communication skills, income tax and legal services, math and handling finances, family living and personal development. Many state-supported colleges and universities are conducting extension courses and also adjusting on-campus curriculums to attract adults. Some team up with local industries to teach new job skills or improve old ones. They are making it easier for adults to drop in and out of school as their careers and desires dictate.

So widespread is the trend in school districts to help adults that the North Central Assn., one of several elementary and secondary school accrediting organizations, is working on new standards for accrediting adult courses. The standards are expected to be written around new criteria which take into account work and military experience of adults, and the adequacy of school libraries, recreation facilities and other services provided by regular secondary schools.

Authorities see a salutary effect in completion schools. They view them as instrumental in improving secondary school teaching and curriculum. Teaching usually is better and courses more functional in the completion schools because adults demand it. Teachers find they have to give their best to meet student needs and authorities believe this will feed back to the instruction of boys and girls.

Will Bicultural Studies Reduce the Dropout Rate?

A USOE bilingual program is trying to supply the missing ingredient in most second language studies--education in a second culture. A hoped-for byproduct is a reduction in the extremely high dropout rate for Puerto Ricans, Chicanos and other minorities.

"Past experience has shown us that simply instructing youngsters in English is not enough. It won't help prevent academic retardation," says a USOE official. "So we are trying an entirely new approach in which all course material is related to understanding both the student's native culture and the American culture."

Currently, some 83,000 youngsters in grades K-6--90% of them Spanish-speaking--are enrolled in 164 USOE projects in California, the Southwest and New York. This is only a fraction of the total number of youngsters--some 5.4 million who qualify to participate. The 300 bilingual programs of all types in the nation also reach only a small percentage of the total needing them.

Officials of the USOE program, now in its third year, say it is not far enough along to have any measurable effect on academic performance. And they won't know what it does to the dropout rate until the pupils reach junior and senior high school.

Critics, however, say that money for the program is spread too thinly and that the quality of the programs may produce so little success that school districts will drop them. Chicano leaders long have assailed the lack of effective programs. They say that Spanish-speaking children who enter English-speaking classes suffer disadvantages from which they never recover fully.

A report by the U.S. Commission on Civil Rights, Unfinished Education (Mexican American Educational Series, October 1971), says it found in a survey of 532 school districts in Arizona, California, Colorado, New Mexico and Texas that Chicanos were receiving an inferior education. Texas was described as the worst state with nearly half the Chicanos leaving high school before graduation. Figures for the other states: California, 36%; Colorado, 33%; New Mexico, 29%; and Arizona, 19%.

Authorities say the basic problem lies in the lower grade levels and the early labeling of Chicanos as "mentally retarded" because they do poorly in IQ tests. Critics claim these tests, which are in English, tend to be biased in favor of white middle-class pupils. As a result, the ratio of Chicano children said to have "inferior" IQs is 2.5 times that of the general population.

The commission report did not offer any recommendations as to how the five states might improve education for Chicanos and other minorities. But Chicano leaders said the report showed it was the schools that had "failed the Mexican American and minority children."

A ZERO DROPOUT RATE?

Long-held assumptions bearing on society's effort to cope with the dropout epidemic have been challenged in Youth in Transition Volume III: Dropping Out--Problem or Symptom? (Institute for Social Research, U. of Michigan, 1971), a five-year study for USOE. The study group, headed by Jerald G. Bachman, found that dropouts compared favorably with stay-ins in self-esteem and behavior patterns and there was no appreciable difference in levels of income and job satisfaction between the two groups over a span of two years. In rates of employment, "stay-ins" had the advantage by 87% to 71%.

But the study said that while dropping out probably makes it more difficult to get a job, "the more important causes of unemployment are those pervasive differences in background and ability which precede and help determine the act of dropping out." The determining factors, the study said, are dropouts' relatively low scores on tests of intelligence and intellectual skills and their lower socioeconomic backgrounds. Thus, the authors argue that dropping out is a symptom, not the basic problem. The authors are critical of programs aimed at the symptom.

Their chief target is the national policy of trying to prevent dropping out of high school and especially the highly publicized "anti-dropout campaign." The Bachman group said the campaign should be "sharply curtailed" for the following reasons:

"There is little evidence to support many of the claims of the anti-dropout campaign (Your chances of being unemployed are doubled if you quit school before graduating), and what evidence there is has sometimes been badly abused in order to make it more convincing. The...comparison of dropouts and 'stay-ins' (sometimes all 'stay-ins,' including those who go on to college) can be terribly misleading, for the implication is clear that if the potential dropout only stays in school then he can be just like the rest of the graduates. In fact, this simply is not so; by the time he reaches 10th or 11th grade the potential dropout usually has basic problems and limitations that will not be 'cured' by another year or two of high school.

"Meanwhile, the campaign is giving dropouts a bad time. Most dropouts have become convinced that their action was probably a mistake, and that eventually they had better complete their work for a diploma. They feel that their parents, and often other people whose opinions matter, disapprove of their dropout status.... The anti-dropout campaign may have some features of a self-fulfilling prophecy; one of the side-effects of downgrading the status of dropouts may be to encourage employers to make the diploma a requirement when it need not be.

"The anti-dropout campaign can have the effect of eroding credibility. No doubt some young men are persuaded or partly persuaded by it; but one wonders how many others see through the over-simplifications and become still more skeptical and 'turned off' by what they perceive as propaganda. This is not simply a matter of affecting potential dropouts; nearly everyone is exposed to the television campaign, and many of our brightest and most perceptive young people may view it as one more instance of heavy-handed manipulation by 'the Establishment.'"

This indictment has struck sensitive nerves in Washington, particularly in USOE. Hyrum Smith of USOE's Dropout Prevention Programs Branch told Education U.S.A. he disagreed that the anti-dropout campaign gave dropouts a bad name. "The stigma is there irregardless," Smith said. "Most applications for employment ask if you've finished high school. The ad campaigns are no different than programs for helping the handicapped."

What especially disturbed USOE officials was the implication in the Bachman study that all aspects of dropout prevention be curtailed. They felt it was an open invitation to Congress and the states to drop the effort. Since publication of his report, Bachman has taken more pains to clarify exactly what he meant. In an article appearing in the April 1972 issue of Today's Education he said:

"Over the past decade it has been part of the national educational policy to try to prevent dropping out of high school. One part of this has been a variety of educational enrichments for those not headed for college. These efforts, sometimes funded under federal programs for dropout prevention, are often rather valuable and worth continuing, quite apart from whether or not they lead to lower dropout rates."

Bachman raised another issue in his report which appears destined to have a more profound impact--the necessity for everyone to have 12 years of schooling:

"Even if we hope eventually to reduce or eliminate experiences of early school failure and other problems which are presently associated with dropping out," the report says, "it is still worth asking whether our current approach to high school education is ideal. Is it clear that we should prescribe 12 or more years of uninterrupted schooling for virtually all young people in the United States. The campaign against dropping out seems based on the assumption that everyone needs at least 12 years of formal education. But the research reported (in this study) has led us to question that assumption. We have found that some young men can manage reasonably well on the basis of 10 or 11 years of education. Perhaps others would do so if not branded as 'dropouts.'

"Certainly there are alternatives to a 12-year diploma; perhaps one based on 10 years would be sufficient. Young people wishing to enter college might spend the years equivalent to grades 11 and 12 in publicly supported college preparatory academies. Others might enter one-year or two-year vocational training or work-study programs; some such programs could be publicly operated, and some might be privately operated in conjunction with a system of publicly supported tuition vouchers. Still other young

people might choose to go directly into the world of work after their 10th grade graduation--some to return to part-time or full-time education after a year or two or three. The recent growth of community colleges with their wide-ranging course offerings, flexible time schedules, generous enrollment policies and low tuition rates suggests that there is a growing need for this sort of educational freedom of opportunity."

Simth does not go along entirely with this line of thinking. "There are those in USOE and on the outside who question whether it is important that a youngster remain in school. In my opinion, it is," Smith says. "Every youngster has the right to be trained, to learn a skill. It should be given to him."

This pragmatic view--that we live in a "credential society"--is shared by NEA officials. Robert A. Luke, NEA adult education specialist, supports the concept of 12 years of schooling and the gaining of a diploma or certificate to qualify for a job. But he is opposed to arbitrary rules which say it has to be 12 consecutive years or accomplished before age 18. And he says there should be no state laws which bar anyone from dropping back into the school system. Although he doesn't believe the Bachman study took into account the functional reasons for students dropping out, he does agree with the idea of creating more freedom of opportunity in schools.

Luke has proposed an alternate kind of voucher system whereby the public would guarantee every citizen at least 12 years of schooling. If the student were unable to exercise his option before 18, he could cash it in at a later date. "Such a provision," Luke says, "would conquer the last remaining frontier in American education--the right of everyone to a high school education irrespective of race, religion, geography or age."

A corollary issue impinging on the early school-leaver is the child labor laws of most states. They generally prohibit the employment of an individual until he reaches the age of 18. Some authorities have suggested that these laws be amended. They contend it would not be overly disruptive to have some additional 16- and 17-year-olds enter the labor market. But labor unions may not share this view.

The main issue that authorities do agree upon is reform of the educational process, accompanied by a general improvement in the economic level of large segments of the population, to attack the basic causes for dropping out. Until there is a realization upon the part of educators and society that education is a process rather than a product, they see little hope of reducing the dropout rate to zero--or even close to it.

TEXARKANA'S RAPID LEARNING CENTERS

Texarkana, a city of 50,000 population, partially in Arkansas and partially in Texas, became celebrated in 1969 for dropout prevention when it launched the nation's first performance contract to reduce the dropout rate and to increase student learning. Since then, the glamor has faded--along with the contractor--but the project lives on. Indeed, despite numerous difficulties during the three-year period, school officials remain highly enthusiastic about the new system, which they now operate themselves with funds from Title VIII of the Elementary and Secondary Education Act.

"I feel performance contracting is an excellent route to go," says Edward Trice, superintendent of Texarkana, Ark., School District No. 7. "It really rocked us out of our complacency. It didn't raise the students academically as high as we had hoped. But it brought the dropout rate down."

The Texarkana project is focused around six Rapid Learning Centers (RLC) for reading and math. Four of the centers are in Trice's district and the others are in the adjacent Liberty Eylau School District, Texarkana, Tex. They serve a total of 500 students in grades 6-11, about evenly balanced between blacks and whites. Four of the centers are situated in 900-square foot carpeted and air conditioned mobile classrooms parked near junior and senior high schools. The others are inside junior highs. Students attend the RLCs for an average of two hours per day and spend the rest of the day in other studies and school activities. All enrollees are diagnosed as potential dropouts far below grade level in reading and math. At the centers, they are grouped in classes of 20, conducted by one teacher and an aide.

The RLCs "diagnose" student learning needs, "prescribe" what a student needs to learn and present him with a sequence of programmed instructional materials. A pretest is given each child when he enters the learning center. When it is judged he has achieved sufficiently, he is retested. If he has gained at least one year's growth, he returns to his regular classroom and another student enters. (Some students spent three years in one of the centers, however, and this reportedly helped reduce the dropout rate.)

How Do RLCs Work?

Supt. Trice described the operation of an RLC:

> The role of the teacher in the RLC is altogether different from the role of the teacher in the traditional classroom. She could be called an instructional manager. She programs each individual's

assignment. At the end of her school day she goes to the main center and picks up material for the next day. She takes this back to the school, and places it in each child's folder. This arrangement allows the student to pick up where he left off the day before. When the child comes into the room he doesn't take a seat and wait for a roll call. He goes directly to his folder, picks up his material, gets his record and film, goes to his machine and threads it himself. Then he puts his headset on and he's in business.

The student couldn't care less about what others are doing; he can't even see or hear them, for one thing. Then he starts his program. If he makes a mistake, there's no one to laugh at him. Most of the children have come out of a classroom with group instruction where first of all they've been timid about reciting. If they made a wrong answer, the whole class laughed at them. But here in the lab they're working on their own level, and if they make a mistake only the machine knows about it.

There are incentives built into the process. We have found out that tangible incentives have real value until the youngsters begin to achieve. After a while, achievement is itself an incentive, and children forget about the material incentives.

The Current Status of Texarkana's Project

Martin J. Filogamo, a former Texarkana school principal who is project director, says the goal now is to advance the students "one good solid year in grade level" in a year at an RLC. (The original contractor, Dorsett Educational Systems, a Norman, Okla., maker of teaching machines, had claimed gains averaging more than two grade levels in reading and more than one grade level in math after 48 hours of instruction. But a project evaluator found that Dorsett had been "teaching to the test," negating that spectacular result.)

In the second year, Texarkana districts turned the program over to McGraw Hill's Educational Development Laboratory (EDL). Average achievement gains of less than a year in grade level were attained in that year, Filogamo said. Measuring achievement was difficult, he added, because some students read so poorly they only guessed at test questions. Texarkana operated the project itself in the third year, as had been originally planned.

For the fourth year, Texarkana officials plan to broaden instructional services to cover 2,000 disadvantaged students. These activities will include the special RLCs, basic English and math classes, vocational orientation classes, vocational exploratory classes and specialized reading clinics for nonreaders. The project is also expanding the social studies program and increasing teacher inservice training to improve individualized instruction for potential dropouts. "We feel no one program can do the job alone," says Filogamo. "It takes a combination." Before the project started, he said, the dropout rate at the target schools, which had an enrollment of more than 7,000, was 15% or higher. "Not very good records were kept," he observed. After the RLCs were installed, the dropout rate was reduced to below 5%. If the rate can be kept under 7%, school officials will be satisfied, he said.

APPENDIX

The Cost to the Nation of Inadequate Education

A "landmark piece of educational economic research," released in May 1972, concluded that the educational neglect of 3.18 million young men will cost the nation $71 billion in taxes and $237 billion in lost national income.

The study, prepared by Stanford U. Prof. Henry M. Levin for the Senate Select Committee on Equal Educational Opportunity, surveyed young men aged 25-34 who did not complete their high school education.

The "Summary of Findings" contained in the report, The Costs to the Nation of Inadequate Education, follows:

> An inadequate education for a substantial portion of the population not only handicaps those persons who are undereducated but also burdens society with reduced national income and government revenues as well as increased costs of crime and welfare. The purpose of this study was to estimate the costs to the nation of such educational neglect where an inadequate education for the latter third of the 20th century was defined as an attainment of less than high school graduation. Using data from the U.S. Dept. of Commerce and other sources in conjunction with extensive research literature from the social sciences, this report obtained the following findings:
>
> 1. The failure to attain a minimum of high school completion among the population of males 25-34 years of age in 1969 was estimated to cost the nation:
>
>   - $237 billion in income over the lifetime of these men; and
>
>   - $71 billion in foregone government revenues of which about $47 billion would have been added to the federal treasury and $24 billion to the coffers of state and local governments.
>
> 2. In contrast, the probable costs of having provided a minimum of high school completion for this group of men was estimated to be about $40 billion.
>
>   - Thus, the sacrifice in national income from inadequate education among 25- to 34-year-old males was about $200 billion greater than the investment required to alleviate this condition.
>
>   - Each dollar of social investment for this purpose would have generated about $6 of national income over the lifetime of this group of men.

- The government revenues generated by this investment would have exceeded government expenditures by over $30 billion.

3. Welfare expenditures attributable to inadequate education are estimated to be about $3 billion each year and are probably increasing over time.

4. The costs to the nation of crime that is related to inadequate education appears to be about $3 billion a year and rising.

5. Inadequate education also inflicts burdens on the nation in the form of reduced political participation and intergenerational mobility, as well as higher incidence of disease. It is difficult to attempt any monetary estimate of these costs.

Incidence of Inadequate Education

The following table shows the distribution of educational attainment among males, aged 25-34, in March 1969. They represent a group with recent educational experience who have generally completed their schooling and are beginning their work careers. In 1969, there were about 11.8 million men in this age category of whom about 12% were nonwhite.

TABLE 4.—*Educational attainment for males 25 to 34 years of age, March 1969, by race*

[Numbers in thousands]

	Elementary		High school		College					
	Less than 8 years	8 years	1 to 3 years	4 years	1 year	2 years	3 years	4 years	5 or more years	Total
White males.....	537	561	1,499	4,161	630	686	286	1,191	960	10,467
Percentage.....	5.1	5.3	14.3	39.8	6.0	6.5	2.7	11.3	9.2	100
Nonwhite males....	145	85	353	491	48	58	10	71	61	1,319
Percentage.....	10.9	6.4	26.7	37.2	3.6	4.4	0.8	5.3	4.6	100

Source: U.S. Department of Commerce, Bureau of the Census, "Educational Attainment: Mar. 1969," Population Characteristics, Current Population Reports, series P-20, No. 194 (Feb. 19, 1970), table 1.

The table on the next page shows the median income for Negro and white men aged 25-54 in 1969 by highest grade completed. At each educational level the income level of Negro males is only about two-thirds to three-quarters the income of white males. To a large extent these differences appear to be attributable to discrimination practices in labor markets that prevent Negroes and other nonwhites from obtaining more productive employment positions within industries and firms.

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TABLE 7.—*Median income for Negro and white men 25 to 54 years old in 1969 by highest grade completed*

Years of school completed	Median income		Negro income as percent of white
	Negro	White	
Elementary:			
Less than 8 years	$3,922	$5,509	71
8 years	4,472	7,018	64
High school:			
1 to 3 years	5,327	7,812	68
4 years	6,192	8,829	70
College:			
1 to 3 years	7,427	9,831	76
4 years or more	8,669	12,354	70

Source: U.S. Department of Commerce, Bureau of the Census, "The Social and Economic Status of Negroes in the United States, 1970," Special Studies, Current Population Reports, series P-23, No. 38, p. 34.

Table 8 reflects the estimated lifetime incomes for men by level of schooling completed, based upon 1969 data. According to the estimates, the difference in expected lifetime incomes between men with 8 years of schooling and those with high school completion is about $73,000 for the overall population, and differences in lifetime income between high school dropouts and graduates are in the $40,000-$50,000 range. Differentials at the college level are substantially larger, with college graduates expected to receive about $150,000 more than high school graduates.

TABLE 8.—*Estimated lifetime incomes from age 18 for males by race and educational attainment*

Level of schooling completed	Lifetime income		
	All males *	White	Nonwhite
Elementary:			
Less than 8 years	$206,000	$219,500	$155,900
8 years	263,000	276,100	176,700
High school:			
1 to 3 years	282,000	300,400	204,200
4 years	336,000	347,000	242,900
College:			
1 to 3 years	378,000	384,600	292,300
4 years	489,000	497,500	348,200
5+ years	544,000	554,000	387,800

* Rounded to nearest thousand.

The table on the following page (No. 11) estimates the lower limit on investment for obtaining a minimum of high school completion for all males in the 25-34 age group as well as college participation for some of the additional high school graduates based upon the nonwhite continuation rates. It was estimated that $1,214 per year represented the additional cost for the secondary grades and $2,545 was the additional annual cost for each year of college attendance. Assuming that all of these added expenses are borne by government, but that they apply only to the additional years completed, the cost of providing a minimum of high school completion for all males who would otherwise not graduate is estimated at about $13.4 billion; and the cost of providing additional education for those persons who would continue their education beyond high school is about $9 billion. Thus, the lower limit

on public investment for eliminating inadequate education among this group of males is estimated to be about $22.5 billion. (The upper limit to the costs of providing adequate education for this group of men is estimated to be $57 billion--based on the need to provide additional expenditures for each potential dropout over his entire elementary and secondary career.)

TABLE 11.—*Estimates of investment costs for providing a minimum of high school completion and nonwhite continuation rates beyond high school for all males in 25 to 34 year age group*

	Number of additional persons completing level (in thousands)	Number of years additional schooling per person	Cost per year	Total cost per level (in billions)
From elementary to high school completion:				
Less than 8 years	682	7	$1,214	$5.796
8 years	646	4	1,214	3.137
1 to 3 years high school	1,852	2	1,214	4.497
Total				13.430
From high school completion to—				
1 to 3 years college	512	2	2,545	2.606
4 years college	273	4	2,545	2.779
5 or more years college	239	6	2,545	3.650
Total costs, college				9.035
Total investment costs for high school completion and college attendance				22.475

In the appendix to the study, the committee pointed out that the number of white males, aged 25-34, who lacked a high school education decreased from 24.7% in 1969 (the base year for the study) to 21.6% in 1971. However, the study concluded:

> ...It appears there has been no change for nonwhites and a rather significant change for whites. Had we used data for 1971 in the analysis, the overall conclusions would have been similar to the present ones although the total national income foregone and investment costs for alleviating inadequate education would have been reduced by a modest amount. The relatively large social payoff to each dollar of investment in reducing inadequate education would have remained unchanged.

Source: The Costs to the Nation of Inadequate Education, prepared for the Select Committee on Equal Educational Opportunity, United States Senate.

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